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LITTLECOTE



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LITTLECOTE



LITTLECOTE

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION BY MESSRS. HATCHARD, 187 PICCADILLY, LONDON, 1900.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THESE pages, intended to serve as a guide-book to Littlecote, and printed only for private circulation, are dedicated, with gratitude, and by way of restitution, to all those authorities whose writings have been pillaged by

THE COMPILER.

(James Varnon Watney)

Whe had had the house from the

Leyborne-Paphenel)

LITTLECOTE.

Christmas, 1897.



NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THOUGH there is more matter in this edition than there was in its predecessor, it is issued with the hope that it may not contain more mistakes.

Much of the information about "Wild" Darrell, and all the letters relating to him, herein quoted, have been taken from Society in the Elizabethan Age, by Mr. Hubert Hall, of H. M. Public Record Office; to whom, as well as to Sir Lionel Darell, and to others who have kindly allowed their MSS. to be studied, the obligations of the compiler are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

March, 1900.



LITTLECOTE FAMILIES.

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DARRELL	•	•	•	•	•	1415
Рорнам	•	•	•	•	•	1589
LEYBORNE-	HAM	•	•	•	1804	



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LITTLECOTE

THE CALSTON FAMILY.

LITTLECOTE, in the middle of the thirteenth century, belonged to Roger de Calston, of Calstone, near Calne, in Wiltshire, who died in the twentieth year of Edward the First's reign, seized of lands at Calstone, Quemerford, Lyttlecote, Chilhampton, Little Durnford, and Ebbesborne Wake in Wiltshire, and at Enham Knights in Hampshire.

He was succeeded in his estates by his son Roger, who, at the time of his father's death, was one year old.

This Roger applied to the Bishop of Salisbury in 1341 for a license to hear Divine Service in his oratory at his Manor of Littlecote, near Ramsbury; he died two years later, leaving a son, John, then twenty-one years old.

In John's lifetime Thomas de Lydeyerr became chaplain of Littlecote in the place of John Golyas.

John Calston died in the thirty-first year of

The Calston Family.

The Calston Family.

Edward the Third's reign, leaving a son, John, then fifteen years old.

Early in the fifteenth century, by the marriage of Elizabeth Calston (who was baptized in the second year of Henry the Fourth's reign), grand-daughter of this John Calston, and daughter and heiress of Thomas Calston of Littlecote, with William Darrell (son of Sir William Darrell of Sessay, in Yorkshire), Subtreasurer of England in 1399, Littlecote passed to the Darrells.

"Littlecote," wrote Leland (about the year 1546), librarian and "antiquary" to Henry VIII., "the Darells' chief House is a Myle from Ramesbyri." The house mentioned by Leland is the house which still exists.

THE DARRELL FAMILY.

The Darrell Family.

THE Darells, Darrells, or Dayrells (whose name is spelt "Darell" in the Battle Abbey Roll)—so called from the castle of Airel in the arrondissement of St. Lo, now known as Mesnilvite, built on low ground by the river bank, where the bridge of St. Louis crosses the Vire—came over at the Conquest, and are first heard of in Yorkshire, where Marmaduc de

Arel witnessed a charter of William, son of Alan de Percy; and Thomas de Arel occurs in 1158.

The Darrell Family.

This Thomas, according to the Liber Niger, held of Henry de Percy; and in the same record Ralph de Arel is entered as a tenant of the Honour of Wallingford. Either he, or another Ralph, held of Saier de Wahull at Horton, in Northants, and half a knight's fee in Oxfordshire, where Henry Dayrel likewise held fee.

Sessay, their Yorkshire seat, is said to have been acquired through the heiress of Richard de Percy of Kildale, by William Dayrel, in the time of King John. It was certainly in their possession as early as 1223–38, when Sir Marmaduke Dayrel witnessed one of the charters of Idonea de Busli, the widow of Robert de Vipont, as her Seneschal. It was he who bestowed the church of Sessay on York Minster.

Another Sir Marmaduke, living in 1364, married Alice, daughter of Ralph, and sister of Geoffrey, Pigot, and was succeeded in 1369 by his son, Sir William, who became the father of three sons, Marmaduke, William, and John.

Marmaduke carried on the line at Sessay, and the Sir Edward Darell who, in 1433, was one of the commissioners appointed by Henry VI. to report upon the Yorkshire gentry, was probably his son.

Leland says of them, "I learnid that Darelles of Ceyssa by Newborow in Yorkshire were the oldest

House, or one of the eldest of that Name that were yn England. The Heires Males of this House fayllid in King Henry the VII. tyme, and then one Guie Dawney, of Yorkshire, maried the Heyre General, a woman of a Manly Corage, and John, her Sun his now the Heyre."

This heiress was Joan, sister of Sir Thomas Darell; she married Sir Guy Dawnay, of Cowick.

John founded the family of the Darrells, of Calehill, in Kent, which was "of eminent reputation among the gentry of the county," and lasted for more than four hundred years.

He bought Cale Hill in 1410, and married two Kentish heiresses: first, a daughter of Valentine Barrett, of Perry Court; and, secondly, a niece of Archbishop Chicheley, with whom he obtained Scotney.

Of his son by his first wife, came the Darells of Cale Hill, the last of whom died in 1846; of his son by the second, came the Darells of Scotney, extinct in the main line in 1720, when, by virtue of an old family settlement, the estate reverted to Cale Hill.

One of the younger brothers was the ancestor of a house still in existence, to which belonged Sir Marmaduke Darell, of Fulmer Court, Bucks; "servant of Queen Elizabeth in her wars by sea and land, and Cofferer to King James, and King Charles I.," as he is styled in his epitaph. Fulmer Church, rebuilt at his sole cost in 1610, retains his effigy in gilt armour.

The Darrell Family.

"He died in 1631," says Lysons, "and his grandchildren having squandered away their patrimony, were obliged to sell the manor to their servants."

Seventh in descent from him was Sir Lionel Darell, created a baronet in 1795, whose great-grandson, also Sir Lionel Darell, lives at Fretherne Court, Gloucestershire.

William married (probably in 1415) Elizabeth Calston, the heiress of Littlecote. The issue of this union was a son George, who, unlike his northern cousins was a Yorkist, and was Keeper of the Great Wardrobe to Edward IV. George was twice married. By his first wife, Margaret Stourton, he became great-grandfather of Jane Seymour (third wife of Henry VIII.), and great-great-grandfather of Edward VI. By his second wife, Jane Hautte (or, according to some authorities, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edmond Hart, Kt., of Kent), he had an heir, Edward, who made the fortune of the family at court.

In the year before his death, Sir George Darrell, of Littlecote, had, according to the usual practice of those unsettled times, devised his estates in trust to several distinguished friends, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbot of Malmesbury.

Young Edward Darrell, of Littlecote, was eight years old when his father died in 1474. It is difficult

to discover any information worthy of notice respecting him during the next three reigns, but in the third year of Henry VIII. his liabilities as Sheriff for Wilts were remitted; and in the thirteenth year of the same reign Orcheston and four other Wiltshire manors were granted to Sir Edward Darrell by letters patent, which were confirmed in the next year.

He was now one of the most considerable landowners in that county, and had added to his local influence by the marriage of his sister, Mary (or Margery), to Thomas Long, of Draycott. Sir Thomas Long's paternal grandmother was Alice, daughter and heiress of Reginald Popham, of North Bradley, Wilts.

Sir Edward Darrell was Vice-Chamberlain to Katherine of Aragon, and the following document is not without its local interest.

"To o' right trusty counsaillo' Sir Edward Darrell K' oure vicechamberlain and keper of o' parc of Chilton Folyat.

"Katherina the Qwene. By the Quene.

"We wol and comaunde you to deliver or cause to be delivered thre okes convenable for Tymber, To be takyn of our gift wt. in oure parc of Chilton Folyat as well for the reparacon of the Churche of Chilton Folyat whiche is in grete Ruyne and Decay, as for the reparacion of oure tukking mill there.

"And these our letters, etc.

"At Grenewiche vj Jan. xvj Henry VIII."

Another of this Queen's Privy Seals, dated 25 July, 21 Henry VIII. is addressed to her Master Foresters and Masters of the Game to permit Sir Edward Darrell, her Vice-Chamberlain, to hunt and kill one buck in summer, and another in winter, within any of her chases or forests. In the same year a warrant was issued for the delivery of ten oaks in Chilton Park to Sir Edward Darrell.

The last of the Queen Katherine's grants to her Vice-Chamberlain was in favour of his heirs. Therein is recited that Sir Edward Darrell, lately deceased, was the Queen's bailiff and receiver of her rents and profits within the manor and park of Chilton Folyat, and the keeper and farmer of her warrens and pasturage within the parks of Blagdon in Dorset and Fastorne in Wilts, and that he was indebted on those accounts for the sum of 2191. 9s. 6d. Nevertheless, in consideration of his many and great services, and at the prayer of Dame Alice, his widow and executrix, the whole of that sum is remitted and excused by Her Majesty. This claim was sworn and allowed Michaelmas, 22 Henry VIII.

In Sir Edward Darrell's lifetime his eldest son John (who married Jane, daughter of John Fettyplace of Shefford) was slain at Arde in Picardy.

John Darrell's son, Sir Edward Darrell, married a daughter of Sir Thomas Essex (or, according to another account, of Sir William Essex—a fact which

is the more probable, as the latter was alive under Edward VI.), and was, by her, the father of the last of the Darrells of Littlecote, William, or "Wild," Darrell.

One of the anecdotes of the Darrell family that can be considered authentic is derived from the minutes of a council at Hampton Court in 1541, which had under consideration a complaint lodged by the Bishop of Sarum that Edward Darrell, gent, son-in-law of Sir William (or Sir Thomas) Essex, had lately chased the Bishop's deer without license. The council, however, thought it sufficient to entrust the reproof due for this offence to the delinquent's father-in-law.

It was in this year that Sir Edward Darrell purchased the manor of Chilton Folyat, which had been for so many years in the stewardship of his grandfather.

In Domesday, Chilton had a reputed assessment for ten hides; and was valued at 10*l*. instead of 12*l*. Littlecote, on the other hand, was assessed for little more than one hide, and was valued at ten shillings only.

Early in the fourteenth century—in the twentyninth year of Edward the First's reign—Chilton belonged to Henry de Tyes, the Governor of Marlborough—styled in a letter to the Pope, "Lord of Chilton',"—he died in 1308; Eleanor de Lisle inherited from the Tyes; and then came the Foliats, one of whom, Sir Sampson Foliat (living in the time of Henry III. and Edward I.), was a Crusader, and his tomb is in the church of Chilton Foliat.

The Darrell Family.

In the thirty-seventh year of Henry the Eighth's reign the manor of Chilton Folyat, then the dowry for life of another Queen Katherine, Katherine Howard, was let to farm to Sir Edward Darrell—the father of "Wild" Darrell—for a term of twenty years, at an annual rent of $50l. 3s. 7\frac{1}{2}d.$

When, in the course of the next year, negotiations took place for the sale of this manor to the then occupier, an official valuation was taken, which is recorded in the Particulars for Grants of that year.

In the first membrane of this document a concise description is given of the manor. In the second membrane the timber on the estate is valued at 55l., comprising forty oaks at two shillings each, and the rest, oaks and ashes, at a shilling. The fourth membrane contains a detailed description of the manor and its appurtenances, including the "Beere's Inne" in the town of Hungerford, a "waren of conyes" in Chilton, and all other possessions in the "townes, parishes, and hamletts" of Chilton Folyat, Leverton, and Hungerford, in the counties of Wilts and Berks.

These were sold to Sir Edward Darrell for twentytwo years' purchase of his rental, that is, for

1103l. 19s. 9d. To this sum was added the value of the advowson and parsonage of Chilton Folyat, estimated at 14l. 8s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}d$., making a total of 1118l. 8s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}d$.

Sir Edward Darrell died at Littlecote on the 26th August, 1549. His personal estate was administered during the next few months by Mary Fortescue, who also accounted for his funeral and testamentary expenses.

The household stuff at Littlecote was valued at 322*l*. 13*s*. 9*d*. by an inventory exhibited in due form, and this, with a further estimate of 30*l*. for outstanding crops, made up a total of 352*l*. 13*s*. 9*d*.

The "funeral and other necessary expenses," including legacies of sheep to various servants, amounted to 326l. 16s. 8d., leaving but a balance of 25l. 17s. 1d. of personal property.

In his will, dated shortly before his death, Sir Edward Darrell had directed that during the next eleven years his executors should receive and lay by the profits of the manors of Chilton, Winterborne, and Leverton, for the purpose of discharging his debts and pursuing the livery of his heir.

By the same will be bequeathed to Mary Danyell all his manors or lands of Rygge, Froxfield, Fyttleton, Combe, Compton, Hackleston, Balston, Hanvyles, Helmes, Longprydye, and Bagley, to her and her assigns during her natural life.

To George Darrell, his "cosyn and servaunte,"

the testator bequeathed an annuity of 20 marks. To his "loving frend" John Knight one of 40m.; and annuities of 40m. to Edward Johnson, John Curr, and Thomas Carter—all of these annuities being payable out of the manor of Winterborne. To his daughter, Elynor, he assigned a portion of 200l., and settled on her the manor of Orcheston.

The Inquisition post-mortem taken at Sarum before the Escheator of Wilts, 6 October, 4 Edward VI., further recounts that "diu ante obitum suum virtute cujusdam finis in Curia Domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in crastino Sancte Trinitatis anno 2^{do} coram Edw. Mantague & sociis suis justiciariis, etc, inter Thomam Philips ar. 4 J. Knight gen. querentes & dictum Edw. Darrell mil. deforciantem levatae, predictus Edwardus recognovit maneria de Fiddleton, Combe, & Hackleston esse jus ipsius Thome ut illa que iidem Thomas & Johannes habuerunt de dono predicti Edwardi in perpetuum. Et pro hac recognitione iidem Thomas & Johannes concesserunt predicto Edwardo predicta maneria et reddiderunt in curia totam vitam ipsius Edwardi et post discessum integre remanere Marie Danvell. discessum integre remanere rectis heredibus predicti Edwardi."

The jurors upon this Inquisition also depose that by a deed dated 37 Henry VIII., Sir Edward Darrell, of his goodwill and favour towards Robert Moore of

Bewyke-in-Holderness and Elizabeth his wife, has assured to them an annuity of 6l. 13s. 4d. The jurors also declare that Sir Edward Darrell died at Little-cote 26th August, 3 Edward VI., and they find that William Darrell is his son and nearest heir, and that he is of the age of ten years, two months, and three days.

There is one more official document to be noticed in relation to Sir Edward Darrell's death. This is the return of Henry Clyfford, Escheator of Wilts, that on taking the oath of Elizabeth Darrell widow (as by writ directed) that she would not re-marry without the consent of the king, he had assigned to her the reasonable dower of 13 messuages and one meadow, 3 cottages, 2 gardens, 510 acres of meadow, 203 acres of pasture, 50 acres of wood, and common of pasture in Wanborough, Knighton, and Ramesbury, valued at 36l. 10s. 3d. in all.

This arrangement was submitted to Sir J. Brydges, Sir A. Hungerford, and J. Berwyk—the nearest friends to William Darrell, the heir of Littlecote—but they refused to become parties thereto.

Sir Edward Darrell left behind him at least two children by his wife, Elizabeth Essex—William, and Elynor. Besides these there was also undoubtedly a third child, a son Thomas, though whether he were born of the same marriage, or even in wedlock, there are probably no satisfactory means of ascertaining.

His wife, Elizabeth, survived him for many years; in fact, not long after his decease, she married again, John Rogers, of Berks, son of Sir John Rogers, of Dorset, an old connexion of the family.

The Darrell Family.

Elynor Darrell was eventually married to Egremond Radcliffe.

"WILD" DARRELL.

William, known in later years as "Wild," Darrell was, at the time of his father's death, a child of nine Sir Edward Darrell had left behind him vears old. real property of considerable value, and a personal property which had been nearly absorbed in the payment of his funeral and testamentary expenses; but it would not appear that he intended his heir to benefit greatly by either the one or the other. Of the twenty-four manors of which, at the lowest computation, he died possessed, sixteen, at least, were subject to the life interest of other members of his family by his own act; while two or three more were encumbered for long terms of years. Thirty years later William Darrell was still paying to a woman, for whom his father had thereby amply provided, a heavy rent-charge upon the estates which were his birthright. Thanks to Magna Charta, and to her own official connections, Sir Edward's widow was

" Wild" Darrell. " Wild"
Darrell.

secure of her reasonable dower. No sooner was Sir Edward Darrell dead than difficulties began to surround his heir. First the tenants of Chilton Foliat demurred at paying their rents to a lord who had but little power of compulsion at hand. This course they pursued at the instigation of the Earl of Rutland, who raised an ancient claim to the property in question. He exerted his court influence, and, taking the law into his own hands, broke into Chilton Park with a band of armed retainers, and encamped upon the disputed territory. A collision ensued, and the young heir prosecuted some of the parties at the next quarter-sessions for trespass and assault. tenants, becoming bolder, pressed for their rents to be returned to them. (See suit in the Court of Wards of certain customary tenants of the manor of Chilton Folyat to recover 51l. paid to William Darrell, who wrongfully claimed the same after he was disseised of those lands by the Earl of Rutland. Circa 1563.)

Finally the case resolved itself into a lingering suit in Chancery.

There seem to have been continual difficulties with this property at Chilton Foliat, for in 1592 (three years after William Darrell's death) Dame Ursula Walsingham instituted a Chancery suit to be protected in possession of lands in Chilton Foliat, Wilts., late the estate of William Darrell, Esquire,

but purchased from him by her late husband, Sir Francis Walsingham, who settled the same upon herself.

" Wild"
Darrell.

Throughout the long period of William Darrell's minority he was an exile from the home of his Here a spurious Lady Darrell reigned supreme, for her rival had married a young husband, and had gone to reside in another county. But, as soon as the young heir of Littlecote attained his majority, he instituted a suit to recover more than his nominal ownership of the home manors, basing his claim upon the following grounds: that the demise made by his father for the lady's benefit only extended over the period of his minority. Hereupon the defendant sought to prove that by an early deed these manors were demised to her for life; and that upon her subsequent marriage, after her benefactor's decease, the guardian of his heir attempted to dispossess her, but, after long strife, failing to do so, gave way "to ease his conscience," and admitted the justice of her cause. The reply on the part of William Darrell was clear and decisive as regards the home manors, the real point at issue. duced a deed, dated three years later than that under which the defendant claimed, whereby the property in dispute was conveyed to his guardian in trust for the lady during the heir's minority only. Hence" Wild"
Darrell.

forth William Darrell was in possession at Littlecote till the day of his death.

The tenants of another manor defied their lord, and dragged him into court to defend his conduct. These were the copyholders of Wanborough, who commenced a suit in the feudal Court of Requests for protection against their lord's malice. Here charges and counter-charges of an extraordinary nature were brought forward. Darrell, it seems, had ejected certain of his tenants, and put new ones into their places. These he supported against the rebellious majority, and the two parties soon came to extremities. Several of the old tenants were summoned by the new tenants on a charge of felony. They were brought before a neighbouring justice, committed for trial, and found guilty; but they found means (as Darrell complained) of obtaining the Queen's pardon.

To the action of the Wanborough copyholders, Darrell replied with a cross-suit in Chancery to compel evidence for a trial at the common law. Meanwhile the case of the former, after hanging fire for a long time at the Court of Whitehall (Requests), came on for hearing, when an injunction was issued to secure the plaintiffs in their holdings until further hearing in Chancery. This decision was highly displeasing to Darrell's side. One of his people refused at first

to recognise the writ, observing incredulously "that it was a counterfayte and made under a busshe"—to the "evil example," as it was reported, of "many others." Foiled in one direction, Darrell fell back on his Chancery suit. The case had been directed to stand over till Michaelmas term; but on the 28th of October, the defendants were suddenly served with a notice to appear and make answer afresh on the 29th. The summons was dated the 26th, though neither motion nor order had been made. The opponents had stolen a march.

Worse than this was Darrell's position with regard to his Berkshire tenants at Uffington. The chief of these was a nephew, who—upon the occasion of some quarrel, the merits of which are uncertain, though the law afterwards decided in the uncle's favour—armed a band of rioters, and made a forcible entry into the The shepherds whom they found in lands in dispute. the fields, after a few blows, fled before them, so, leaving some of their number to guard the captured sheep, they marched on to the mansion. The garrison consisted only of two of Darrell's dairywomen; but the invaders, fearing the possibility of an ambuscade, or more probably an action for burglary, did not at once commence an assault, but established a blockade, and "laye in contynuall awayte" about the house for four or five days. During this time they placed sentinels

on the terrace, and patrolled the grounds, receiving support from their allies in the neighbourhood. At last the house was stormed, and occupied by the enemy in force. Meantime the detachment mounting guard over the flocks was reconnoitred by the shepherds anxious for their charge, as it was just then lambing time. The rioters, however, seized the shepherds, and hoisting their heels aloft, "drew them violently a greate distance, their hedes knocking against the ground," and cast them headlong forth.

Last of all was the case of the manor of Axford, one of the most weighty cases of those times. estate had been conveyed by Sir Edward Darrell to his father-in-law, Sir William Essex, and had been devised by the latter to his eldest son with option of purchase to Sir Edward Darrell and his heirs at The sum in question was tendered a stated price. by Sir Edward to the younger Essex, but was refused by the latter, and the matter was allowed to drop. But William Darrell was not a man to treat the subject so lightly. He considered himself the life tenant by succession to an inalienable birthright, and without otherwise molesting the Essexes' tenant, began to fell timber on the manor. A lawsuit at once followed, throughout which Darrell continued to fell timber as before, in spite of his counsel's remonstrances.

The Essexes supported their tenant, and the case was protracted for some twenty years; during which time personal feeling became more and more embittered. Here are three letters that passed between "Wild" Darrell and his counsel (Sir John Popham, the Attorney-General, and the subsequent owner of Littlecote), referring to this felling of trees at Axford, and one from Sir John Danvers to Darrell on the same subject.

" Wild"
Darrell.

SIR JOHN POPHAM TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"After my heartie commendacions unto you. Wheras the matter betweene Mr. Stukeley & you is by the consent of you bothe referred to Order, I pray you to forbeare to cutt downe any more woode or trees in Axford during suche tyme as the matter dependeth in comprymys. I was moved herein by Mr. Stewkeley after your departure from me and as the case standeth, I thinke hit verie resonable you yeld unto yt. I mene if God please to be at Salisburie the wekes daie at night before Easterdaie; where for divers respectes I would gladlie speke wth.

"Wild" you. And thus I bidd you farewell. From Cloford, this iijde daie of Marche 1582.

"Yo assured good frend "Jo. Popham.

"To the wor My very lovyng frend Mr Wylliam Darrell Esqyer Geve these at Lytlecott."

SIR JOHN DANVERS TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"I founde Mr. Attorney after his departure from Sarum at Wylton; where yt pleasid my L. of Pembroke to have some communicacion towchinge you, chardging you with very unthanckfull dealing towardes him. His L. was answerid by us boathe in the best manner we coulde, for your creadytte; upon the which Mr. Attorney commoning with me privatlie, willed me to advise you from him (as your frynde) to remaine of a former good mynde towardes my L: and so not to deale with any other touching Axford untill he may agein speake with you. And so would I wysshe you for divers cawses which you shall knowe at my nexte speaking wth you. And for my bargaine from Whytewaye, I see the lykelyhed

so ill for me to make a savinge bargaine, as I will not troble you any further in ytt. And so with my verie hartie commendacions, I bidd you farewell. From Dauntesey the vth of Marche 1582.

" Wild"
Darrell.

"Yor loving frend h kynnesman,
"Jo: Danvers.

"To the worshipfull his lovinge kynnesmann Mr. William Darrell Esquier—Deliver theis."

WILLIAM DARRELL TO SIR JOHN POPHAM.

"I receved yor letters dated at Cloforde the iijth of Marche by the handes of a Shepherde cominge from the downes by some distaunce from me the vjth day after, but how they came to him nether of himself nor otherwise unto this daye could I well learn, but that of a man unknown they wer receved. Yor letters in matter rested on too poyntes. The one that sithence the cause betwyne Stucly and me is reffered to speach you do pray me to forbeare cuttinge downe woudes trees in Axforde, and was moued therin by Stucley, and do thinck it very resonable I should yelde unto it. Wherat I have and do marvell me much, and am in the same sorely perplexed, sithence I was not

G

easily drawen to have speach in it, no not althoughe I love you and doo reste upon you before any other. For I was not then ignoraunt who would stirr, and what would be enterponed. And therefore I receved yor promise not only in this matter, but also in a thing of a seconde degree; the which I knowe is well with you in good remembraunce, nether was I contented to have it talked of, in that of my libertie I would be abridged nor through forbearinge to have my cause slaundered or by such a surceasinge to give occation of doubtful speach to common people wherby oppinion of the same may be lost. The which is the only thing that in few yeares sute as it I have gayned. Mr. Atturney you could not think this convenyent. But talkinge of late wth S^r John Danvers, o' my God; he telling me somewhat, I knew therby much, wherof I will expresse nothinge in letters. But what be men, and what minds be in them in thes dayes. Wher is become the integrete, clearnes of consciens and vertu that somtyme have bin. I have learned one rule in books from the auncyent fathers, and have found it in experience among'st men; that that day that a man would have another's landes or his goodes, that day he would have his life also if he could. I pray you pray for me, for I am at this present in sory case. The rest of yor letters was that I should meat you the Wensday at night before Easter at Sarum: the weh I

woulde willingly doo but the yll affection of my health at this present doth inforce me to pray yo" to hold me excused. And at London shortely or when yo" will yo" shall have [me] to attende yo", and, with reason, to leade me "t cary whether yo" will. I found by Sir John Danvers that I was beholding to you also of late. Amyddest the wilfullnes of other men's speaches I have bynn alwayes beholding to yo". I am indebted to yo", and as I do acknowledge it so am ready to satisffie for it. And as I have receaved the one, so am ready to acquitt my selfe in the other. And so w" my harty comendations I bidd yo" fare-well. At my pour hous at lytellcot the 27th of marche 1583.

"Yor loving and assured frind

"W. DARELL.

"To the right worshipful my loving frind M^r Popham, Atturney General geve thes."

SIR JOHN POPHAM TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"Mr. Darrell, wheras you wryte to me that (as I tak hyt) you marveled I shold be off opinion hyt were convenyent you shold forbeare the fellyng of woodes depending the comprymyse; trewly I was

and am of that opynyon and so wold you be also yf the case were tried that the possessyon were off the othersyd. And the rather I am so induced, for that yf hys counsell hadd well loked unto hyt, I thynke they myght have restreyned you therof by the lawe. And wheras I gather by yo' letter yo' wryte that you dydd not thus conceave of me, when you comytted hit unto me. I assure you that neyther yo' selff nor any man else shall justly charg me wth any abuse off any thyng comytted to me. And yet in thys and in all other [I] may and wyll move that we shalbe [hereto] convenyent and resonable. And touchyng yor beyng here, hyt was but to have conferred wth you in a poynt that concernyd the whole success of yor cause to have been armed for hyt web beyng sent by me (I protest before God) for yo' most good, I cannot gather by the doubtfulnes of yor letter what plesyr you had conceaved off hyt. I never yet deserted any and I wyl not now begyn wth you. I thinke you have hadd better proff [of] me. And so wth my herty comendacyons do comytt you to God. At Sarum, the xxviijth of marche 1583.

"Yor loving frend "Jo. POPHAM.

"To the wor Mr. Wyll" Darrell Esqre "geve these."





William Darrell's rent-roll was, no doubt, at one His father died possessed of time considerable. some twenty-four manors, the gross rental of which could not have been much less than 2000l. by the year. Alienations, law-suits, and a higher rate of living must have reduced William Darrell's average income to about half that amount. At the time of his greatest embarrassments, it was actually between 700l. and 800l., about half of which was derived from the rents of some half dozen manors, and the rest was made up of arrears, dues, and the proceeds of the farms at Littlecote and Axford. He was, however, perpetually in difficulties. He owed money to usurers, tradesmen, and many of his neighbours. He anticipated his rents, and pawned much of his These transactions brought him into collision plate. with creditors whose importunities he was not inclined to brook; and so one more element of discord was added to his difficulties. There can be no doubt that this continual drain was chiefly owing to law-costs. Indeed, no other explanation presents itself. household consisted of retainers who had grown old in the service of the family, and the cost of their maintenance did not exceed 50l. a year.

"Wild" Darrell's famous amour was the turning point of his life, and his enemies' opportunity. Sir Walter Hungerford abandoned his wife, and

put the law into motion, but he lost his divorce suit (1568-70). One of Sir Walter's half-brothers took up his quarrel, drew on Darrell, and would have killed him; but the encounter ended without serious result. The following letters, bearing on the case, are full of human interest.

LADY HUNGERFORD TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"I have sente to you my dear Will a messenger off great truste by whom you shall se the coppe of the essaminyng off thowes Varletes, as you may well perseve by ther tales the have bene well tawte ther lessones. But I dout not but that God will defende me from all the vill & abomynabell practiscis, and shamefoll rewarde shall the have for ther great paines and specially thowes at whos handes I have not desarved it, but sithe it is my fortune to be thus plaged for your sake, I muste & will be contented wt all, praing you to ploke up yower wittes and memory to defende this my unfortunate cawes & youres; for my parte I am both ignoraund & witles to dele in those matres, yet have I good Will to doo therein to the uttermost, whiche mythinkes I kolde muche better do iff I myght talke wythe you whiche cannot

be till ye tearme, be no meanes, & that is to me no small greff; at whiche time you shall know how & wher to talke wi me. In the mene season it shalbe requysite for you & me bothe to sherche and seeke oute what possabell may be to deface and disprove thos variettes that soo vily hathe yoused us. Talke you I pray you effecteously wt this barer who hathe noted certaine thinges to be considered off; & especially for the times, and what witnesses be beste to be had or sought fore. It trubles me muche & feares me more, & nobody have I to take and say my minde unto, but only you who I cannot have. God send me reste & quietnes in heven, for hear I have none in this worlde. I have muche more to wryte then ether helthe will soffer me or you to rede wt oute being wery, wher fore I leve off this matter till we mete, trusting my tounge and wittes will better com to me and sarve me then at our Last meting the did, for the site off you then was suche to me as I kolde not otere that whiche faine I wolde have sayde. Now as touching your lettres whiche you sent me by your man whom at that time founde me in suche sounding fitts and wekenys as yet I ame not any longe time voyde thereoff, so that I kolde not then write as I wolde, nor at this present cane soo well as I kolde wische; and for you writing to my frendis, I holde well wi all soo it be done advisedly & but to my father

only as I have geven this barer instructions. My Lorde off Lester, writ a very friendly letter to my father in my behalfe, declaring I shall not lacke all the frendship he may do for me. And wher you put me in remembarance to yowes you well and all soo charging me wt my othe, to the furste I say I have not at any time missused you, nor never will to the deathe, and then I truste no othe is or cañe be brokin. But how you have and will yowes me it hathe & dothe reste only in you, I charge you not. and when you will me to commande you and all you have, full well you knowe my dear dorrell I never wayed your goodes or Landes but only you and your faithefull good Will, as God be my Judge & your selfe, iff ether I myght or kolde by any possobell meanes have incressede your worshep, or welthe, ther never wanted good Will in me at any time; but how long or littell a time soo ever I live, I loke not to be voyed off greves off olde time growen; & in what case I am or shall be in I knowe not. Then waye you who hathe moste cause not only to save consider—but also to consider. To your furrst letter I answer laste, thinking not you have loste any frendes but rather plesereth you in that the have shewed ther dissembling frendshep, but I dot not, as I have afore saide butt that God will provide for us meny frends. Luker & gaine makes meny dissembling and hollow hartes, and whar as

you say you will kepe ye burde in your breste saiffe and othe that you have sworne never to revelle nor breake, one thinge assur yourselfe off, cawes justly you shall have none to breke & in tim I shall well find & parseve your furste menyng and constancey. This my dear Will I leve forder to wryte, to you till we may mete, whiche I truste shall be shortely; praing Allmyte Gode to presarve and kepe the bothe body and sole.

"During liffe ever one
"A. HUNGERFORDE."

"The barrer hear off semes to be very carfull of my bisnis and painfull I have founde him, and a good sotell hede anoweff to dele in mattres. Ones again a 1000 times fare well ti[ll] mor at large, may I talke w! Him.

"A. H.

"To the right worshepfull
my cossane Master Darrell
Geve these at [Littlecote]."

LADY HUNGERFORD TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"My good dorrell I hear yt you mett wt Lewes Ty at Colbrok, and ther stayed him in soo muche that Edward Hungerford was faine to make great sute " Wild' Darrell.

to my Lord off Londane to have him discharged wher he standethe bounde for his apparence at the next Court day and allso that he shall appere at all times afterwardes, from time to time. He alsoo made great complante that ether you did or elles you wolde have sene the Letteres that he brought from Sir Walter, as yff you have not I wolde to God you hade s. and y. touchin the other s. Letter d. you wot off, I wolde faine it were mendid for myne Aunte hathe & dothe show it to diveres as to my Lorde of Lester, my Lady Sidney, and otheres and makethe suche bragges off it as you never saw, all soo bedle the regester tolde me that he harde Lowes Die shuld be offred a living worth xx markes by the year, to forsake his master but how or be home I know not For the Love off God my good Will be carfull for me this matter and thinke how muche it standethe me uppone, and in any wyse seke I pray you to bringe in as meny witnyssis for the profe off your being at Londane all the Ester terme as by any possebell menes you cane get/ Godsoll was very straytly exsamenned apon ye intergatoryes there was xl of them layed in againste him and amoungaste whiche ther was one to knowe whether you came to my loging during the time you wer at London, and whether we dede mete or see one annother or not. As for any sartain nues, we have none as it [yet], but dayly the poste ar loked for. Young Roper is comyted to prysin wt divres other from the Star chamber for religione matter, but it is thought greter parsones shall follough. And this wisshing you as well as your one [own] harte can desire, to ye Almytey I leve you. From London. The xx off Feberyary.

" Wild" Darrell.

"Ever one during life,
"A. Hungerforde.

"In any case lowes not ye s. letter. d.
Small thinges can doo no harem.
& y frendship x. we shall not lake.
"To my very frend
Master Dorrell geve [thes]—"

LADY HUNGERFORD TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"My dear Dorrell W! my faythefull comendacyones this barer makethe suche haste that I have no time to write as I wolde, but for ye passiane off Gode thinke what you have to doo & let me not be undone, for this barer telleth me that my counsell is marvellouesly astoned for y! the cannot goo forwarde acording to ther furste instructiones so y! now y! know not what to saye or what to lay in for answer. Y! have sent to me to knowe what I kolde say con''Wild;"
Darrell.

sarnying your being to me at Ester terem was iij year, whiche to geve my remembrance you were not at that tim ther but off sartaine I cannot tell I rather thinke you wer ther at trynytie terme, but full well I doo & ever shall remember you wer ther at Ester. Thus putting my only tuste in you I comyt you to ye allmyte who send you as well in thinge as your selfe wolde wishe. "In haste at midnyte.

"A. H.

"rede & bren.

"To y: Right Worshepfull Master Dorrell.
g[eve] theis."

LADY HUNGERFORD TO WILLIAM DARRELL.

"Myster Dorrell,

"I by the othe that I have sworne upone the holy Angleste do acknowledge that if Sir Water Hungerfer my husband now liveng do departe oute of thys lyfe,* that I here by the othe that I have swarne, and wytnes of thys my hande that I wyll take you to my husbande. Wytnes therof thys my hand suffiesyth.

"Anna Hungerford."

[Endorsed by William Darrell.]

"To his well beloved wife, the lady Hungerford, at the Castell of Frogges be thys delivered."

^{*} Originally written—" if Sir Watre Hungerfer my husband were not levyng."

SIR FRANCES ENGLEFIELD TO DOROTHY ESSEX.

" Wild" Darrell.

"You have hearde (I doubte not) how my La. Hungerfardes greate sewte ys at lengthe endyd by sentens to her suffycyent purgation and honor, thoughe neyther suffycyent for her recompens nor for hys punysshement. . . . Her letters to me were bothe of one effecte, to say, to procure what I may that by her fryndes som ordre may be taken to bryng her out of debte, and to furnyshe her to lyve in suche an estate as they her fryndes thynke mete that she doo susteyne. I am not ignoraunt that the charges wilbe greater than any one of them (that may) will willingly beare and I know that some of them that may best, will doe least. Yet see I none other way untyll God send that the justyce of her cause may be better hearde, and that greate beaste my cosen compellyd bothe to recompens the injuryes doone her, and to furnyse her wythe yerely lyvyng according to the portion that she brought hym.

"Louvaine, April 19th, 1570."

LADY ANNA HUNGERFORD TO DOROTHY ESSEX.

"My dear Essex, I have reseved diveres lettres from you and allso from her grasse. . . . I have byn in that necessete y! I have solde all my wering

clothes and my tabell clothe and suche linens as you knowe I hade—and all to helpe me to maintane my sute in lawe in clering me of myn innoseence. now I have sentence of my side, but Master Hungerforde will not pay my charges nor yet geve me living whiche ye lawe geves me, but the rather will li in the flete, rather then to parte w any peny of living wt me. O my deare Doll what endelles messeres do I live in! O what frendes had I that this most wrechedly hathe utterly caste me and all mine away. I am not abell to write ye one quarter of my trobeles whiche I have indured. Sur Water Hungerfo, and his brother hathe touched me in iij thinges, but I wolde in no case have ye douches to knowe them for geving hur grefe. The furst was, sence you wente, advortery. Ye seckond wt morder. Ye iij that I wolde a' poyssoned him vj yeares agone; but all thes has fallen out to his shame; but I shall never recover it whilest I live, the greves hathe bin and is suche to me, and mine necessetys so, that I fear I shall never be as I have byn. . . . I have nobody to travell for me for Gardener is gone from my father. and I have not to geve him anything to sarve me so v. I knowe not what to doo; and my horesses ar bothe dede so y! I have nothinge to helpe myselfe w^t all. . . . I am forssed to put all my fokes away at medsomer for yt I have not to kepe them and

nothing trobles me so muche as that I have not to do for Godsoll for he has loste muche by his sarving of me. My cheldrene I have not harde of this xj mountes and more. Ye ar loste for wante of good plassing; Susane is as I hear clen spoilled, she has forgotten to rede and hur complexsione clen gone we an yeche, and she hathe skante to shefte her we all. Jane is we a semster in Malboro very evel to [do]. Surly I wer happy if God wolde take them out of this life.

"THE SAVOY, March 25th, 1570."

Darrell's enemies bestirred themselves. They appeared in the Justice-room at Newbury, where one of the cases in which Darrell was involved (Darrell against Hide) was being heard before Commissioners (Sir Henry Knyvett, Mr. Anthony Bridges, and Mr. Roger Younge), and accused one of the Littlecote servants of "the murtheringe of one Blontte." Soon afterwards Darrell himself was charged with being an accomplice. This was in 1578, and the charge was "towching a murther that sholde be doon about three years past." Finally bail was taken for Darrell to meet the charge.

This was, indeed, a crisis in Darrell's fortunes.

He was overwhelmed with debt; he was formally accused of one murder, and suspected of another; he had to bear the odium of debauchery and fraud; he was at law with nearly all his tenants, and in a state of open warfare with most of his neighbours; and now he was thrown into prison, and, in order to obtain his release, compelled to pay a very large sum of money to the Lord-Lieutenant of his own county, Lord Pembroke.

It is in 1579 that we find "Wild" Darrell caged in the Fleet Prison, and his imprisonment happened in this wise. In 1577, Darrell being in his normal state of antagonism with most of his neighbours great and small, an armed party of the latter had proceeded to the house of one Thomas Brinde, an agent of Darrell's, and murdered him in cold blood as he sat before his door. The murderers were harboured and protected by Darrell's enemies, foremost of whom was Sir Henry Knyvett, sheriff of Wilts. The widow of the murdered man was compensated, and the circumstances were hushed up. Darrell, however, was not a man to put up with an affront. The crime had been committed within his own feudal lordship, and the murdered man had been his agent, his friend as he now impulsively called him, whose blood cried cried for vengeance. He posted up to town, and interviewed Mr. Solicitor, the Lord Chief Justice,

and other influential people, who do not seem to have been able—or willing—to prevent him from taking the initiative for the vindication of the law. Darrell attempted, and an abortive prosecution was the result. After a year's delay, and seeing that no justice was to be got in the shire, he next sought out the brother of the murdered man, and assisted him to lay a petition before the Crown itself, openly charging Sir Henry Knyvett with shielding the guilty parties from justice. This brought matters to a crisis; and Darrell's enemies now put out their whole strength against him. First Knyvett brought an action against him for promoting the petition of his late accuser, laying the damages at 5000l., and others followed his example. At the same time Lord Hertford, and Knyvett were collecting evidence to support another charge, that of a child murder described in the "Littlecote Legend."

As, however, neither of these schemes promised a speedy issue, they determined to denounce Darrell as a disaffected person. Two of the Littlecote servants were induced to accuse him of a certain slander uttered in their hearing, "and particularly touching the Lords of the Privy Council, and after that the ladies of the Courte, and laste the Judges of the londe."

Among a mass of papers, deeds, drafts, interrogatories, and the like, relating to the history of "Wild"

"Wild" Darrell, have been found the following satirical lines:—

"The Courtyars craved all The Queene graunted all The Parliament passed all The Keeper sealed all

"The Ladies ruled all Mouns! Buyroome spoyled all The crafty intelligencer hard all The Busshoppes smothed all

"He that was apposed [set] himselfe agaynst all The Judges pardoned all Therefore unless yo Majestie spedely amend all Wtout the great mercy of God the devill will have all."

Note.—Professor Hales, to whom Mr. H. Hall referred these lines, suggested that Mounsieur Buyroome should be Marshall Biron.

Here, as Mr. Hubert Hall—the finder of these papers—says, writing in the *Athenœum* in 1887, here we have the identification of this libel with the one attributed to Darrell, the existing MS. being, no doubt, in the form of a deposition taken during subsequent proceedings. These resulted in Darrell's arrest, examination, and imprisonment in the Fleet,

where he remained for several months in 1579, under the high displeasure of Her Majesty. " Wild" Darrell.

There exist thirty or forty of Darrell's letters written during his imprisonment, addressed to various people at Court.

To the Lord Chancellor. — 31 January: Complaining that his lordship moved him to prosecute Brinde's murderers, whence his present persecution by Sir Henry Knyvett.

To Sir James Croft.—6 February: Protesting his innocence of the alleged slander against the Court and Council.

To Mr. Secretary Walsingham.—6 February: Describing the false accusations of his enemies, which have involved him in the displeasure of the Queen.

To Sir Christopher Hatton. — 7 February: Relating the malicious charges and persecution of his enemies; and again, 20 February, demanding justice, especially for the recovery of the Queen's favour, and his temporary release to conduct his private affairs.

To the Earl of Leicester. — 7 February: Telling the story of his prosecution of Brinde's murderers, whereby he has incurred actions for £10,000 damages; and of the perjury and subornation employed against him, and the false accusation before the Queen of seditious libel.

To Lord Chief Justice Dyer. — 12 February:

Repeats his version of Brinde's case, and his own imprisonment. Sir Henry Knyvett is sheriff of Wilts, and the coroners etc. are his partisans, therefore prays change of the venue "before you," with a special jury, as in Stuckeley's case. "There is I trust one thinge for all men. God is above; indifferent, all mens God."

To Sir James Croft again. — 20 February: His houses are entered, and his property taken by force. His people molested, and one of them lately kidnapped, and he is harassed with trumped-up actions, which he is unable to defend, being in prison. "I beseech you even for the justice of the lordes sake" that these practices may be stopped, and a fair trial awarded; and again, 27 February, his cousin Brydges goes to Court by whom he shall have Lord Hertford's dealings, which shall be fully repaid. Protests his innocence of these charges.

To the Earl of Leicester again.—11 March: Denying the slanderous reports of his enemies. His grief at Her Highness's displeasure. Prays for his assistance against the malice of his enemies to spoil his property. And again, 22 April, thanks for his gracious intercession. Understands thereby that Her Majesty is now well disposed towards him, and therefore anticipates his liberty. And again, 26 April, enclosing a supplication to the Queen. And again, 15 May, would like to have his liberty."

To Sir Francis Walsingham again.—18 March: Thanks for his infinite goodness, for which he will bear a life-long gratitude. Prays for his mediation with the Queen, and his release from prison, wherein his debts are great, and his credit gone. Again, 22 April, acknowledges past obligations and further ones of which Mr. Comptroller has spoken to him. "God requite you, and I will do my best." Prays his further help to obtain his release in order to pursue his suits which are pending.

To Sir Thomas Bromley.—21 April: Has remained prisoner here since the 6th of February, ignorant of his offence, but not of the malice of his enemies. Is surprised at this treatment, as he was often sent for to Greenwich and pressed to prosecute Brinde's murderers, then suing for pardon. Was he not also promised immunity from the malice of those "mallaparte people," and in the end was persuaded to prosecute to his present cost, being slandered and cast into prison? Marvels at this, especially considering my Lord Pembroke's concern in this matter. Nevertheless, he is possessed of patience and a constant mind. Yet it should be considered this punishment is not for his own cause, but another's; however, if he is now released, he will be guits with those who should have assisted him, and moreover grateful.

To the Earl of Pembroke. — 19 May: Is sorry

to hear from Sir Edward Herbert that his letters gave offence. Marvels hereat, considering his lord-ship's interest in his case. Defends his zeal in prosecuting Brinde's murderers. Would be glad to hear privately from him as to the purchase of interest at Axford. Has already spent 1700l. in his suit. Prays him to assist in obtaining his release, whereby his gratitude will be assured.

Mr. Hall suggests that Darrell may have heard the rhymed libel on the Court (referred to above) recited by some wit—possibly at the Pembroke's at Ramsbury—and having indiscreetly repeated it at his own table, was betrayed by his own servants. A similar episode is related in the State Papers of the period, in which a libel was uttered against Walsingham at a Wiltshire dinner-table, and repeated by a spy, to the confusion of the company.

This supposition (adds Mr. Hall) is not wholly fanciful, for Darrell always declared that he had suffered for another's fault, to screen a greater than himself, and that one he tells us was Pembroke.

It has been stated (with reference to Darrell's lawsuits and quarrels with his tenants) by the same authority that "all the above - mentioned contests were the result of a combination of Darrell's tenantry instigated by his personal enemies."

It takes, however, at least two to make a quarrel, and it would be not unnatural to wonder whether

"Wild" Darrell were not a somewhat difficult neighbour, if indeed he were not given to what Aristophanes would have called "early-rising, baseinforming, sad-litigious, plaguy ways."

No doubt the circumstances of his early life were full of difficulties; to evade, or to overcome, which would have required a calm head and ripe experience (neither of which advantages "Wild" Darrell seems to have possessed); and while it would be difficult for the ordinary observer to believe that a man (whose whole life was spent in litigation and quarrels, and who appears to have had but few friends, save those whom he bought) could have been entirely the victim of circumstances, or qualified to appeal successfully from the verdict of his contemporaries to that of posterity three centuries after his death—there is a latent chord in human nature which vibrates, with pity and regret, to the story of a proud character distorted by ceaseless quarrels with neighbours, with tenants, and with kin.

THE LITTLECOTE LEGEND.

Among Darrell's correspondence from the Fleet prison in 1579 is a memorandum by Anthonye Bridges, enclosing a copy of a deposition made before him, referring to the story of a child-murder, about which,

in 1578 and 1579, Lord Hertford and Sir Henry Knyvett, both neighbours of Darrell, were seeking for evidence.

The story, related by Aubrey in the seventeenth century, is well known from its repetition by Sir Walter Scott in a note to *Rokeby*, where the tradition is expanded.

The story is to the following effect.

A midwife was fetched out of Berkshire, at dead of night, to come to the assistance of a person of rank, with a promise of high pay, but on condition that she should be blindfolded. After a rough ride on horseback behind the messenger, she arrived at a house, and was conducted upstairs, where she performed her duties to the lady; but no sooner were these ended than a man of ferocious aspect, seizing the new-born boy, threw it on the back of the fire that was blazing on the hearth, and destroyed The midwife returned to her home, and long brooded in secret over her singular adventure; but the crime to which she had been privy at length produced its fruit, and her mind became ill at ease; so, disregarding the bribe, she went to a magistrate, and confessed to him all that she knew. She believed that she could identify the house, for, on ascending the stairs, she had counted the number of steps, and from the bedside she had brought away a piece of the bed-curtain.

Here is the memorandum of Anthonye Bridges, enclosing the deposition of Mother Barnes.

" Wild " Darrell.

"Upon the troble and ymprisonment of William Darrell, the Erle of Hertforde did send for me Anthonye Bridges and often tymes I came to him, his speche beinge altogedther of Wm. Darrell esquier, and what I coulde saie to be a meane to accuse the said William. And at the last he prayed me to tell what Mother Barnes a mydewief dwellinge in Shifforde had heretofore said to him touching the delivery of a childe. And I declared him the speche as I nowe remembre."

[DEPOSITION OF MOTHER BARNES THE MIDWIFE.]

"Thes are to testefye my knowlege touchinge certeyne speche w^{ch} Mother Barnes of Shefforde uttered not longe before her deathe in the presence of me and others videlt. That there came unto her house at Shefforde, two men in maner leeke servinge men in blacke fryse cotes, rydinge upon very good geldinges or horses w^{ch} declared unto her that theyre mystres (as they then called her) nameing M^{rs.} Knevett, w^{ch} is nowe the wyfe of S^{r.} Henry Knevett, Knighte of Wiltesh. had sente by them comendacions unto her prayenge her of all loves to come unto her forthw^t accordinge to her promise; shee beinge as they said,

at that tyme neare her tyme of traveyle of childe whoe presently prepared her selfe redy to ryde, and beinge somwhat late in the eveninge, shee departed from her said house in the company of the two before recited persons, whoe rode with her the moste parte of alle that nighte. And towardes daye, they broughte her unto a fayre house and alighted her neere a doore of the said house at the web doore one of those that broughte her made some little noyse, eyther by knockinge or rynginge of some belle, wheruppon there came to the said doore a tall slender gentleman, having uppon hym a longe goune of blacke velvett, and bringinge a lighte wth him, whoe so soone as shee was entred into the said doore, made faste the same, and shutt out those that broughte her, and presently broughte her upp a stayres into a fayre and a large greate chambre, beinge hanged all aboute wth arras in the w^{ch} chambre there was a chymney, and therein was a great fyre and from thence through the said chambre shee was conveyed unto an other chambre leeke proporcion, and hanged in leeke sorte as the fyrste was, in the web chambre was also a chymney and a greate fyre, and passinge through the said seconde chambre, shee was broughte into a thyrde chambre, hanged also rychlye wth arras, in the wth chambre there was a bed rychlye and gorgeouslye furnished the curteynes of the said bed beinge alle close drawen about the said bed. And so soone as

shee was entered in at the doore of the laste resited chambre, the said partye in the longe velvet goune ronned softly in her eare sayinge; loe, in yonder bed lyethe the gentle woman that you are sente for to come unto, go unto her and see that yow doe youre uttermost endevoyre towardes her, and yf shee be safely delivered, you shall not fayle of greate rewarde, but if shee myscarry in her traveyle, yow shall dye. Wheruppon, as one amased, she departed from the said gentleman to the beddes syde, fyndinge there a gentlewoman in traveyle, lyenge in greate estate, as by the furniture uppon her and aboute her it dyd appeare, this gentlewoman's face beinge couered eyther wth a viser or a cell, but wth wth I doe not remembre. And shortly after her cominge she was delivered of a man childe, whoe for lacke of other clothes was fayne to be wrayped in the myd-wyfes apron, and so was carried by the said midwyfe into one of the two fyrste chambres that shee passed throughe at the fyrste wth the gentleman, fynding the said gentleman there at her coming thither, whoe demaunded of her whether the partye that shee came from was delivered of childe or no, whoe aunswered that shee was safely delivered of a man childe web shee there presently shewed him, requiringe him that some provision of clothes might be had to wrapp it wth alle, who incontinently broughte her to the fyre syde, into the weh fyre he commaunded her to caste the childe,

wheruppon shee kneeled doune unto him, desyringe him that he would not seeke to destroy it, but rather geve it unto her, promisinge him to keep it as her owne, and to be sworne never to disclose it, the web thinge the gentleman woulde not yelde unto, but forthwth the childe was caste into the fyre, but whether by the mydwyfe her selfe, or by him, or by them both I doe not perfectly remembre. And so soon as this horrible facte was done, shee was commaunded to goe backe agayne to the gentlewoman, where she remayned all that day and by nighte was broughte backe agayne by those two men that broughte her thither, whoe sett her some myles distante from her house, but whether two myles or more I doe not remembre. And I demaundinge of her web way shee wente in rydinge thither, shee aunswered that as shee supposed she wente faste by Dunington Parke, leavinge the said parke on her righte hande, and demaundinge of her by what houses she traveyled by, shee aunswered that shee traveyled by dyuers houses we shee knewe not, and demaundinge ouver or throughe what waters shee passed, she aunswered shee passed over a greate and a longe bridge weh as shee tryly supposed was a bridge over the Thames, as by the water web passed throughe the said bridge beinge very greate shee dyd imagine.

"By me Anthonye Bridges."

"And after this, the seid Erle required of me to knowe whether I had att any tyme heretofore made relacon thereof before Wm. Darell, and I answered that I had. The seid Erle demanded then howe the said William did loke, and what he said. Whereupon finding him maliciouslie bent against the said William Darell, I shortlie after declared the same to the said William, and did sett downe the speche of the said Mother Barnes in suche manner as I did deliver it unto the said Erle under my hande writinge as above said."

The following letter from Bridges to Darrell refers, presumably, to the same subject.

"My good Cosen,

"I commende me hartily unto you, being very sory that my happ was not to be at home when you were laste at my house, for I am wth childe to speake wth you as well for myne owne matter of twentye poundes as also for other matters wth you wyll wonder to heare, and yet I suppose they concerne youre selfe. I have byn of late amongeste craftye crowders whoe walked wth me on parables a longe tyme, and cowlered theyre doinges wth suttell sophistrye, still gropinge and undermininge me in matters of greate importance, yea, as great as may be to those partyes to whome they

dyd apperteyne, but I at the firste perceaved theyre inglynge, and gave theyre doinges in the beginnige suche a dashe, that they seemed therewth alle utterly discomfited, being as they said, a commissioner chose for them. The matter feare you not yf it be no worse then I knowe, ther was a partye named whome the said matter dyd concerne, othorwyse then a gentleman dwellinge within three myles of my house, but I perceaved theyre fetche was not to have me a commissioner, but a deponente yf they coulde have gotten any thinge from me that mighte have made for theyre purpose. I wyll tell you alle the substance of the matter (as I conjecture) at oure nexte meetinge, but the partyes I may not name.

"I am nowe rydinge towardes Hampshyre in earneste busines, and doe mynde, God willinge, to be at Ludgarshalle this nighte at bed, where my busines is suche that I must remayne thies three dayes as I suppose, and in my retorne I wyll God wyllinge see you at Lyttlecote. My wyfe is already rydden towards Ludgershall. This I committ yow to Almighty God from Shefforde, the xxiijth of Julye 1578.

"Youre lovinge Cosen, and assured frende to commende,

[Endorsed]

"ANTHONYE BRIDGES.

"To the Righte worshipfulle, my very lovinge cosen Wylliam Darrell, Esquier, geve this at Lyttlecote wth speede." Here is a letter, recently discovered at Longleat, from Sir Henry Knyvett, of Charlton, to Sir John Thynne, of Longleat:—

" Wild" Darrell,

"Syr,

"I besetch you lett me crave so much favour of you as to procure your servant Mr. Bonham, moste effectually to examin his sister, tochinge her usage att Willm Dorrell's, the berth of her children, howe many they were, and what becam of them. She shall have no cawse off feare trulie, to confess the uttermost, for I will defend her from all perill howe so ever the case fall owte. The brute of the murder of one of them increaseth fowlely, and theare falleth owte such other heyghnous matter against him as will toche him to the quick.

"From Charlton this ijth of January 1578.
"Your loving friend,
"H. Knyvett.

"To the right worshipful and my very lovinge friend, Syr John Thynne, Kyght, Geve this."

It will be noted that Mother Barnes, who deposes that the message which summoned her from her house was represented as coming from Lady Knyvett, does not say that she was blindfolded, but that after leaving her house and being on horseback for several hours in the night, she found herself in the early

morning at another house, and that the lady whom she had to attend was masked. She does not say what house this was, and she does not appear to have known. Her deposition gives the fullest particulars of the atrocity committed, but fails to identify Little-cote as the house, or "Wild" Darrell as the criminal.

Tradition certainly connects Mother Barnes's story with Darrell and Littlecote; and also suggests that Littlecote came into the hands of Popham as the price of his entering—as Attorney-General—a nolle prosequi to a charge of child-murder against Darrell.

On the other hand there appears to be no conclusive evidence to corroborate this tradition in either respect, and it is quite certain that Popham helped Darrell out of such a maze of other difficulties that (putting aside all suggestion of a child murder, and of a nolle prosequi) he did quite enough to have earned the reversion of Littlecote.

Amidst much that is mysterious it is clear that Popham succeeded Darrell in the possession of Little-cote, on the death of the latter in 1589; but what was the price paid, and whether it were in money or in kind, are questions which, though asked by the Wiltshire gossips 300 years ago, still remain unanswered.

But though Darrell got out of prison his enemies attacked all who were known to favour his cause,





and he wrote to his fellow justices to warn them that the position could not be strained further without bloodshed.

" Wild"
Darrell.

He was, however, making good his retreat; for he was in communication with his friends at Court, and was preparing to buy the assistance which he could not otherwise obtain.

He secured the good offices of his kinsman, Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, by an offer recorded below, an offer that was repeated soon afterwards, upon Sir Thomas Bromley's death in 1587, to Sir John Popham, the Attorney-General, who had already rendered Darrell great services in his innumerable lawsuits. Here is the offer to Sir Thomas Bromley, expressed in a letter from Darrell to his cousin, Reynold Scriven.

"... But for that I may not be ungrateful for things passed And to have him my good and Indyfferent Lorde if it may be, I pray you move, and as you may, lett fall in substaunce this. I have a maner standinge in good sorte wth one of the Realme of 300l. by the yeare in every condition well to be liked. This will I convey to my Lorde And mr. Harry Bromley that hath maryed my kinswoman & to his eyers in such sorte as I now have it of that valewe if

I dy wthout heyer male of my body begotten. And that this I will do I do not sett it downe only in letter but I will also enter into covenant or be bound in statute of V^{Mi} for the doinge of it, wth this conditen added to it more; that if I fortune to have eyer of my body Then shall my Lord on M merkes payd him or his wthin thre yeares after or ells shall he or his have so muche payde after my death wthin one year as from a frind; this in choyse."

He also secured the interest of Sir Francis Walsingham.

At last Lord Pembroke pressed for his promised ransom. The alternative was imprisonment upon a private bond; for Lord Pembroke had only issued his threatening notices through the mouth of servants, and Darrell had but his own copy of the correspondence wherewith to support an improbable tale. Darrell answered that "He was a freeman, and subject to none but the prince, to whom my lord was subject as well as he." To a second communication, still more threatening, he returned word "that he would pray for his lordship." He was, indeed, reduced to great straits for money, but he was still the lord of thousands of acres upon the famous downlands of three fertile southern counties.

He fled to Court, and there his friends stood him in good stead.

" Wild" Darrell.

The great lawyers of the day busied themselves with his affairs, pushed his business through, and curbed his rashness. The Secretary of State, at the same time, hastened to extend to "his very loving friend" the benefit of his immediate protection. He spoke fair words to the enemies of his *protégé*, chief of whom was Pembroke, but made them understand that they must relinquish their pursuit, and stayed extreme proceedings on either side.

Almost immediately a new opportunity seemed to offer itself for Darrell's energies. The Armada threatened England, and men and horses were pressed into her defence from every shire. Darrell caught the martial fever of the hour, and made offers of personal assistance, beyond his own liabilities, to his new friend the Secretary. His zeal was represented favourably to the Queen, and was rewarded by an invitation to present himself in defence of Her Majesty's person, in immediate attendance upon his patron. The latter also required the officers of the Crown for Darrell's own district to dispense with the levies required of that gentleman in consideration of his present services; for Darrell had agreed to undertake the equipment of the cornet of horse which Walsingham had thought it incumbent on himself to furnish towards the national defence.

Thus it was that "Wild" Darrell became a courtier. When the excitement of the Armada had died away, he found enough to occupy him in London, where henceforward he spent the best part of his time. And certainly he had managed to connect his name with some of the most intricate cases of the day. His matters had come before every permanent Court in the kingdom—in the Chancery, the King's Bench, the Exchequer, the Common Pleas, the Courts of Wards and Liveries, Requests, and Star Chamber, the Spiritual Courts, and even were the subject of discussion in the Council Chamber and the Presence.

In the years 1, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 29, and 30 Elizabeth twenty-two suits were brought by Darrell against upwards of fifty defendants in the Court of Star Chamber. He appeared at the County Assizes, County Court, and Quarter Sessions; and his steward, and his agents, as his representatives in the various Manor Courts of his estate, always had their hands full.

Among "Wild" Darrell's correspondents was his cousin, Sir Marmaduke Darell (a descendant of the Darells of Calehill, and styled in his epitaph "Servant to Queen Elizabeth in her Wars by sea and land, and Cofferer to James and King Charles I."). One of his letters gives an account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, at Fotheringay Castle, at which he was present as an eye-witness.

MARMADUKE DARELL TO WILLIAM DARRELL. "Sir,

"The conveniencye of this messenger wth the newes wch this place dothe presently yelde; occasionethe me to trouble you wth theis few lynes. I doubte not but wth you, as well as in the contrie hereaboutes; there hathe bene of late sondrye straunge rumors bruted concerninge the Sco: Queene prisoner here; wch all, as they have bene hitherto untrewe; so now yt is most true, that she hathe endured that fatall stroke this daie, that will excuse her from beinge accessarye to any like maters that may happen henceforthe.

"Between x and xj of the clocke this present Thursdaie, she was beheaded in the hall of this castle: there being present at yt as Comission's, onely the Earle of Shewsburve and the Earle of Kente; fowre other Earles were joyned wth them in the Comission, but came not. The sherive of this shere, S. Rich: Knightlye, S. Edwarde Mountague, wth divis other gentlemen of good accompte, wer also here at the Touchinge the manner of yt, all due order execucon. was most carefully observed in yt; she her selfe endured vt (as wee must all truely saie that were eye wittnesses) wth great courage, and shewe of magnanimitye, albeit in some other respectes she ended not so well as ys to be wished. The order for her funerall, ys not yet determined uppon; but wilbe very shortlye;

as also for her people, who (wee thinke) shalbe safelye conducted to their native contries. Thus have you brieflie, that won will be no doubte very shortlie reported unto you more at large. In the meane tyme I beseche you accepte in good pte this small shewe of my duetifull remembraunce of you. And so with my humble comendrations I leave you to the merciful ptection of the Almightie.

ffrom ffotheringaie castle this viijth of ffebruarye 1586.

"Yor poore kinsman to comaunde

[Endorsed]

Mar: Darell."

"To the right woorshipp" Mr Wiffm. Darell Esquire at his house at Littlecott."

Darrell, during his sojourn in London, occupied a house in Warwick Lane (a narrow thoroughfare which, jointly with Ave Maria Lane, connects Newgate Street with Ludgate Hill, running across the bottom of Paternoster Row), but, though humbly lodged, fared sumptuously at his table. Littlecote was a long day's ride (sixty-eight miles) from London, by easy stages it took three days, yet its owner contrived to have nearly all the delicacies of the country sent to him from there. Throughout the summer there were always two, at least, of the local "talent" engaged in fishing the Kennet, and baskets of fresh "trowtes"

were sent to London by express messengers. Besides these "fesant netts" were used, and in May! The home dove-cot furnished countless "pigeon-pies," twelve of which were delivered at Holborn Bridge on one occasion; and venison, rabbits, chickens, "grene gese," and other poultry were sent up in abundance. And there were strawberries, but these Cornelius, the Dutch gardener, supplied with a niggardly hand.

On the 14th of July, 1589, Darrell left London on a visit to Littlecote. The party supped at Hounslow on that day; on the 15th they dined at Maidenhead, and supped at Reading; and on the 16th they dined at Newbury, and rode on to Littlecote. The steward paid the reckonings by the way, which were as follows:—

Charges of coming down, viz.:

Supper at Houndslow, July 14th	•	10° 4	1ª
Horsemeat there	•	7 ^s	
Dyner at Maydenhedd, July 15 th	•	15 ^s . (6^{d}
Horsemeat there	•	4º. 8	3;
Supper at Reading	•	13 ^s	
Horsemeat there	•	6s 8	3;
Dyner at Newbury, July 16th		8º 1	1ª
Horsemeat there	•	3º 8	3;
Poor people at Newbury .	•	٤	3 ^d
A poor man at Spene	•	2	2 ^d
Total .	£	3 9 4	1ª

Darrell died on October 1st following, in his fortyninth year, according to local tradition, of a fall from his horse, while riding over what is still known as "Darrell's stile."

Popham had an agent on the spot, who seized the papers of the deceased, and despatched them to London, there to await the arbitration promised between the respective claims of the Attorney-General and the Secretary of State.

The following letter from Popham's agent describes what happened after Darrell's death.

WILLIAM REDE TO MILES SANDYS.

"S', So it is that at M'. Attornies last beinge in Wilteshire, at a place called Littlecot, sometyme belonginge to M'. Willm Darrell Esquier deceased, but now to M'. Attorney, my happe in the absence of M'. Attornie upon the deth of M'. Darrell to gether all suche evidences as was in the house of Littlecote into my possession to M'. Attornies use. And since that tyme it dothe appeare that S'. Fraunces Walsingham dothe pretend title to some or other of the landes of the said M. Darrell wherof no parte dothe appertaine to M. Attornie. And that the evydences as well concerninge that which M. Attornie

is to have in righte t dothe enjoye, as these landes that Sr Frances Walsingham dothe pretend title unto, did remaine in the house of Littlecott at the tyme of Mr Darrell's decease which conveyed to London, evidences are already in greate chestes. But the keys of these were lefte withe me, aswell by Mr Atornie, by one Mr Stubbes gent, that was appointed in the behaulfe of S. Fraunces Walsingham safflie It indifferentlie to be kepte tyl the tyme should be appointed, by M. Secretarye that the chestes should be opened the evidences perused, as well for M. Secretorye as for M. Attornie. Since which tyme I I have receaved letters from Mr Attornie, that Mr. Secretoryes pleasure is with the assent of M^r Attornie, to have the evidences perused with all spede. for as much as I shall not have occasion to be at London these sixe or seaven daies, M. Attorney hath craved me to send the said keyes forthwith enclosed in my letters to some gentleman of the benche of the Middle Temple whereby they maye be hadd with some spede to perfourme M. Secretoryes expectacion. Amongest the which I have made choyse of you for that you are Mr Attornies frend t myne also Desiringe you to acquaint M. Attornie therewith & that then the same maye be safflie delyvered, according to the trust to me comitted-And so with my hartie comendacions, your helth wished, I committ you to the

government of the Almightie. From Chisburie the xxjth of October 1589.

"Yor frynd assuryd,
"WILLIAM REDE.

[Endorsed]
"To the]

"To the Ryght worshipfull
Myles Sandys Esquyar
at his chambers in the
Middell Temple yn London
Geve thes."

This was the end of the Darrells of Littlecote, and in the county ruled by Pembroke, the birthplace of the "Arcadia," there was soon a new magnate, by whom Queen Elizabeth was invited to visit the lost home of her unfortunate kinsman.

SIR JOHN POPHAM, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.

Chief Justice Popham. JOHN POPHAM, who succeeded Darrell in possession of Littlecote, in 1589, was descended from an old Norman family settled at Popham, a hamlet in Hampshire, early in the twelfth century.

Leland says of the family in his *Itinerary*:

"There was one of the Pophams that had this

Stile by Offices Chauncelar of Normandy, Capitaine of Vernoile, of Perche, of Susan and Bayon. Tresorer of the Kinges Housold. He lyith in the Charter House Chirch in London. The first Nobilitating of the Pophams, as it is said, was by Matilde Emperes, Doughter to Henry the firsts, and by Henry the 2. her Sunne."

Chief Justice Popham.

The estate of Huntworth, in Somersetshire, was acquired by marriage in the reign of Edward I.; and there John, the future Chief Justice, was born, about the year 1531, being the second son of Alexander Popham of that place, by his wife Jane, the daughter of Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire.

It is related of Sir John Popham by Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, that "while yet a child he was stolen by a band of gipsies, and remained some months in their society," and that "his captors had disfigured him, and had burnt on his left arm a cabalistic mark, which he carried with him to the grave."

His elder brother, Edward, succeeded to the family estates; but he was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, where he was studious, and laid in a good stock

of classical learning and dogmatic divinity. When, however, he removed to the Middle Temple, that he might qualify himself for the profession of the law, he is said to have got into bad company, and neglected his judicial studies. Tradition would also have us believe that he frequently sallied forth at night from a hotel in Southwark, with a band of desperate characters, and that planting themselves in ambush on Shooters' Hill they stopped travellers, and took from them their money and valuables.

Aubrey ascribes his reformation to the influence of his wife (Amy, daughter of Robert Games, of Glamorgan).

"For several yeares he addicted himself but little to the studie of the lawes, but profligate company, and was wont to take a purse with them. His wife considered her and his condition, and at last prevailed with him to lead another life, and to stick to the studie of the lawe, which, upon her importunity, he did, beeing then about thirtie yeares old. He spake to his wife to provide a very good entertainment for his camerades to take his leave of them, and after that day fell extremely hard to his studie, and profited exceedingly. He was a strong, stout man, and could endure to sit at it day and night."

Fuller, in his Worthies, says of him:-

Chief Justice Popham.

"In his youthful days he was as stout and skilful a man at sword and buckler as any in that age, and wild enough in his recreations. But, oh, if Quick-silver could really be fixed, to what a treasure would it amount. Such is wild youth seriously reduced to gravity, as by this young man did appear. He applied himself to more profitable fencing—the study of the laws."

It is in Wiltshire that we find Popham early exercising his legal abilities; and, after a time, he was consulted in almost all Darrell's difficulties. His family was related of old to the Darrells, of Littlecote. Young George Darrell, William Darrell's cousin, and early housemate, was probably a fellowstudent with Popham at the Temple. Besides this, Popham's grandfather had married the sister (coheiress with her) of the wife of one of the Blounts of Gloucestershire. There had been a law-suit about the property thus claimed from the Pophams' grandmother, the latter family claiming the whole. was also a mysterious connexion between these same Blounts and the Darrells of Littlecote. A Blount was in disputed occupation of some of Sir Edward Darrell's property; a Blount was settled at Chilton Foliat; and it was a Blount of whose murder Wild Darrell was afterwards accused of being an accessory.

Another Wiltshire ally was the Earl of Pembroke. Popham had interests at Salisbury, and had married a Glamorganshire heiress (Amy, daughter of Robert Games, of Caselton), a county in which Pembroke was paramount, and where Darrell also seems to have had some property in mines.

Popham was nominated Reader at the Temple in 1568, when he was thirty-seven years old; and he became Treasurer twelve years afterwards. In the interval between these two dates he had obtained, as Member for Bristol, a seat in Parliament, where, in 1571, when the subsidy was under discussion, he joined with Mr. Bell (the future Chief Baron) in calling for the correction of some abuses, and pointed out the evil of allowing the Treasurers of the Crown to retain in their hands "great masses of money," of which, becoming bankrupt, they only paid an instalment.

In the next year he was one of the committee appointed to confer with the Lords on the subject of the Queen of Scots. He was called to the degree of the coif on January 28th, 1578; and in the following year, when Sir Thomas Bromley was promoted to be Lord Chancellor, he was offered the place of Solicitor-General. This office being inferior in rank to that of a serjeant-at-law, he resorted to the unusual expedient of unserjeanting or discoifing himself, obtained a patent exonerating him from

the degree of serjeant, and was thereupon appointed Solicitor-General on June 26th, 1579.

Chief Justice Popham.

While holding that office he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in January, 1581; and some idea may be formed of the lightness of parliamentary labours during that session, by his reply to Queen Elizabeth, when, on his attending her on some occasion, she said, "Well, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Lower House?" he answered, "If it please your Majesty, seven weeks."

On June 1st, 1581, he became Attorney-General, and held that office for eleven years, during which he took part in all those criminal trials, the perusal of which, even where the guilt of the prisoner is most apparent, cannot but rouse feelings of wonder at the injustice of the proceedings.

Popham was present at Fotheringay during the trial of the Queen of Scots, but did not interfere much in the proceedings, as the part of public prosecutor was acted in turn by Lord Chancellor Bromley, Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, who were sitting as her judges.

When poor Secretary Davison (intended to be the scapegoat for the sins of all concerned in her death) was brought before the Star Chamber, Popham enlarged on the enormity of his offence in sending off the warrant for her execution without the Queen's express orders, although she had signed it, and it

had passed the Great Seal by her authority, and with her approbation.

His elevation to the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench took place in June, 1592, when he was knighted. He presided in that court for the fifteen remaining years of his life—eleven under Queen Elizabeth, and four under King James.

On Sunday, the 8th of February, 1601, when Elizabeth, in her palace at Whitehall, was informed that the young Earl of Essex had madly fortified his house in the Strand, and had planned an insurrection in the City of London, she immediately ordered Chief Justice Popham to accompany Ellesmere, the Lord Keeper, and summon the rebels to surrender. They went unattended, except by their mace-bearers. Essex having complained of ill-treatment from his enemies, the Chief Justice said calmly, "The Queen will do impartial justice." He then, in the Queen's name, required the forces collected in the court-yard to lay down their arms, and to depart, when a cry burst out of "Kill them; kill them."

Lord Essex rescued them from violence, but locked them up in a dungeon, while he himself sallied forth in hopes of successfully raising the standard of rebellion in the City of London. After being kept in solitary confinement till the afternoon, Popham was offered his liberty on condition that the Lord Keeper should remain behind as a hostage; but the Chief Justice refused to depart without his companions in confinement, saying "as they came together, so would they go together, or die together." At length, upon news arriving of Essex's failure in the City, they were liberated, and made good their retreat to Whitehall in a boat.

Chief Justice Popham.

The trial of Essex coming on before the Lord High Steward and Court of Peers, Popham was both assessor and witness. First a written deposition, signed by him, was read, and then he was examined viva voce. His evidence was temperate and cautious, and afforded a striking contrast to the vituperation of Coke, the Attorney-General, and the sophistry of Bacon, who seemed to thirst for the blood of his benefactor. Popham, though so severe against common felons, apparently felt some gratitude for the treatment he had experienced when in the power of Essex, and recommended a pardon, which would have been extended to him, if the fatal ring had duly reached the hands of Elizabeth.

One of his earliest duties, after the accession of James, was to preside at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, for being concerned in the plot to place Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne, a trial stained not only by a conviction founded on weak and unsatisfactory evidence, but also by the conduct towards the prisoner of Sir Edward Coke, for which the Chief Justice felt himself called upon to apologise, saying to

Sir Walter, "Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his duty for the service of the King, and you for your life; be valiant on both sides."

Raleigh was found guilty, and sentence of death was then pronounced, but his life was spared for the present, and the task was reserved for another Chief Justice, after the lapse of many years, to award that the sentence should be carried into execution.

The last State trials over which he presided were those of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, finishing with that of Garnet the Jesuit, in March, 1606.

He is reported to have been a severe judge, and, according to Fuller, to have recommended James to be more sparing in his pardons to the malefactors who then infested the highways. This author adds, "In a word, the deserved death of some scores preserved the lives and livelyhoods of more thousands, travellers owing their safety to this judge's severity many years after his death."

David Lloyd, in his State Worthies, gives him credit for having "first set up the discovery of New England to maintain and employ those that could not live honestly in the Old; being of opinion that banishment thither would be as well a more lawful as a more effectual remedy against these extravagancies." And Aubrey says, "He stockt and planted Virginia out of all the goales of England."

Neither of these accounts is quite correct; the truth being that, having associated himself with Sir Ferdinando Gorges (the knight who released him from Lord Essex's house) in a speculation for the establishment of a colony in North America, a patent was granted to them and to several others; but whatever might have been his intentions as to transportation, the Chief Justice does not appear to have lived to see them carried into effect.

In 1863 the Historical Society of Maine, U.S.A., published a memorial volume of the Popham Celebration in August 29th, 1862, which commemorated the planting of the Popham Colony on the peninsula of Sabino, August 10th, 1607.

George Popham was the captain of a ship called *The Gift of God*, which in company with another ship called *The Mary and John*, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, sailed from Plymouth for New England, May 31st, 1607, with 120 persons.

After exploring the coast and islands of New England they landed on an island, which they called St. George, on Sunday, August 9th, 1607, where they heard a sermon delivered by the Rev. R. Seymour.

August 15th they entered a river called Saga Dahoe, and on the 19th they all went ashore and made choice of their plantation. After another sermon the commission was read, with the patent and the laws to be observed and kept.

The Royal Ordinance, dated November 20th, 1606, appointed, among others on the Council of Virginia, Sir Francis Popham (the son of the Chief Justice), and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Another Royal Ordinance, dated March 9th, 1607, nominated—on the recommendation of the Southern Company — additional members of the Council of Virginia, including Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Mallet (a son-in-law of the Chief Justice), Sir John Gilbert, Sir Bartholemew Michell, Edward Seymour, Esq., and Edward Rogers (another son-in-law of the Chief This George Popham, who commanded the Justice). expedition, was the nephew of the Chief Justice and belonged to the elder branch of the family. He had been on a voyage to the West Indies in 1594. In 1606 he was appointed Governor of Popham Colony in New England. He died February 5th, 1607/8, and was buried within the walls of his Fort, called Fort St. George.

Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, died in June, 1607, aged 76, and was buried in the church at Wellington, in Somersetshire, leaving behind him the greatest estate that had ever been amassed by any lawyer.

THE HOUSE.

THE present house of Littlecote is believed to have been built between 1490 and 1520, in the place, though not on the site, of a more ancient building.

The House.

In front of the gates, just to the west, is "Darrell's tree," which, the natives affirm, will flourish with the fortunes of the House. The iron entrance gates (which mark the site of the old gatehouse, as shown in the picture over the fireplace in the Great Hall), and the sundial (which, on a fine day, tells us the time at "Isphan," "Aleppo," "Charles Town," &c., as well as at "Littlecot") are worthy of notice. Over the doorway, on a shield decorated with good carving, are the arms of the Pophams. The elevations of the house, with sober brick front running up uninterrupted to the great eaves course, and its multitudinous gables on the north side, are absolutely and solely English.

On entering the house is seen a glass window, dated 1533, representing St. Benedict (the two side windows are comparatively modern), and on turning to the left one enters

THE GREAT HALL,

with its plaster ceiling, high windows on one side, and dark oak panelling all round. This ceiling is

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a good example of the purely English ceiling, with simple moulded ribs, worked in geometrical designs with pendants at the intersections.

Noting the chief objects of interest, somewhat in chronological order, among the shields and devices on the windows (and the glass of the upper windows ought to be specially noticed) are the initials of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, with a little Cupid's head; Henry having been at Wulfhall close by with the Darrells' relatives, the Seymours, when he heard of the death of Anne Boleyn.*

There are also to be noted a full-length portrait of Edward VI. (son of Jane Seymour, and great-great-grandson of Sir George Darrell, of Littlecote), and a portrait (originally at Condover Hall) of his uncle, Edward Seymour, afterwards the Protector Somerset.

Edward Seymour (created Viscount Beauchamp on the marriage of his sister Jane to Henry VIII., and soon afterwards Earl of Hertford) devoted himself to soldiering, and in 1544 commanded an expedition against the Scots, when he landed at Leith, and set fire to Edinburgh. On the death of Henry in 1547, who had named him one of his executors, he rose to

^{*} Jane Seymour was married to Henry VIII. 20 May, 1536 (the day after the beheading of her predecessor), at her father's house at Wulfhall. Owing to the plague then prevailing she was never crowned. She died 24 or 25 October, 1537, and was buried at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.





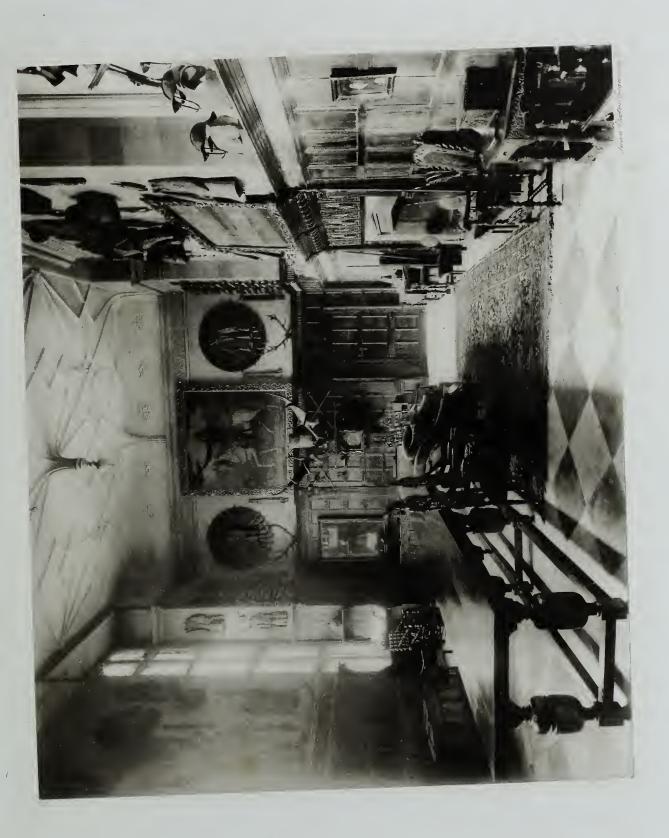
great power, and was appointed Governor of the King, and Protector of the Realm. In 1548 he obtained the post of Lord Treasurer, was created Duke of Somerset, and made Earl-Marshall. In the same year he invaded Scotland, and, having gained the battle of Musselburgh, returned in triumph to England. success excited the jealousy of the Earl of Warwick and others, who first procured his confinement in the Tower, for a short time in 1549, on a charge of arbitrary conduct and injustice, and finally - two years afterwards—caused him to be again arrested on a charge of treasonable designs against the lives of some of the privy councillors. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 22nd, 1552. On this portrait are inscribed these verses:--

"Of person rare, strong limbes & manly shape,
Of nature framed to sarve on sea & land,
Of Friendship firm in good state & ill hape,
In peace heade and in ware skill great boulde hande,
On horse on fote in perill or in playe
None coulde excel though many did asaye.
A subject true to Kinge and sarvant greate
Frind to Gods truth enimy to romes deceate
Sumptuose abroad for honour of the lande
Temperate at home yet keapte greate state
And gave more mouthes more meate

Then some advanst one higher steps to stand. Yet against nature reason and just lawes His blood was spilt justless without just cause."

At the foot of the portrait of Edward VI. is a document, dated Oatlands, July 13th, 1552, under his sign-manual, and signed also by William, 1st Marquis of Winchester (who was Lord Treasurer of England during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth),-Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk (Lord High Constable of England), - William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (Captain of the Corps of Gentleman Pensioners), brother of Queen Katherine Parr, --Edward Clynton, afterwards created Earl of Lincoln by Queen Elizabeth (Lord High Admiral and Constable of the Tower of London),—Edward 1st Lord North,—Sir Edward Bowes (Master of the Rolls),— The Bishop of Ely (Thomas Goodrick),—Sir John Mason (Dean of Winchester), — Nicholas Wotten (Dean of Canterbury, Dean of York, and formerly Secretary of State),—and Sir Philip Hoby. note a letter, signed by Queen Elizabeth to Henry IV. of France, and dated October 17th, 1598.

There are also an old Persian astrolabe, and an armillary sphere, dated 1602, fashioned under the Ptolemaic system, with the earth as the centre of the Universe. It is interesting to remember that





the decree of Pope Paul V., in 1616, condemning the then new Copernican system, was not revoked till 1818, by Pope Pius VII.

Then there are two stoneware "greybeards" (1594), the chair and thumbstocks of Chief Justice Popham, the silver mace that was carried before Charles I.'s Life Guards, two fine old "black jacks," a curious clock that requires winding but once a year, and the most obvious, and not the least interesting, thing in the hall, the long "shovel-board." There is also a fine bronze bust of Oliver Cromwell, which was originally at Hinton St. George. Essex, eldest daughter of Colonel Alexander Popham, married John, 3rd Lord Poulett, of Hinton St. George,

The large equestrian portrait (4A)* at the west end of the hall (hung over a magnificent pair of Irish elk horns measuring 7 feet 6 inches from tip to tip) is known as that of Colonel Alexander Popham, son of Sir Francis Popham, and grandson of Chief Justice Popham. Like his father and his brother Edward, the eminent Parliamentary commander, he was an opponent of Charles I., and his retainers and yeomen are said to have worn those yellow leathern jerkins arranged round the walls, which, since the fire at Warwick Castle, form the best collection of

^{*} This picture is labelled as described above. There are, in the long gallery, portraits of Alexander and Edward Popham; and, to the impartial observer, this picture has a greater likeness to the latter than to the former.

such things extant. With these must be coupled the bandoleers, petronels, helmets, &c.; while between the two arched openings at the eastern end hangs the armour said to have been worn by the Colonel himself.

Colonel Alexander Popham took an active part in the military transactions of the period, and sustained a siege of his house at Wellington, Somerset, by the King's forces. He afterwards assisted General Monk in restoring Charles II., and on February 23rd, 1659, was elected one of the Council of State, which took upon itself the administration of the Government between the dissolution of the Long Parliament and the restoration of the King. He obtained his pardon, and on September 21st, 1663, when Charles II. was making a "Royal Progress from London to Bath," "gave the King a costly dinner at Littlecot."

In the Signet book in the Record Office, December, 1660, is the Pardon granted to Alexander Popham, of Littlecote, Wilts, Esq., subscribed by Mr. Solicitor, and signed by Mr. Secretary Morice.

The father of John Locke, the philosopher, served, in Colonel Ludlow's troop of horse, under Colonel Alexander Popham, who interested himself in the education of the son, and was instrumental in sending him to Oxford.





DRAWING ROOM.

In the Drawing Room are portraits of:-

- (1A.) Chief Justice Popham. Perhaps a copy of the older picture—No. 1—in the Long Gallery.
- (8A.) Letitia, only daughter of Sir Francis Popham, K.B., of Littlecote, by his wife Helena, daughter of Hugh Rogers, of Cannington, Somerset. Letitia married Sir Edward Seymour, 5th Baronet, of Berry Pomeroy, and, by him, became the mother of Edward, who afterwards became 6th Baronet, and, in 1750, 8th Duke of Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour, 5th Baronet, was the great-gr
- (13.) Francis Popham, of Littlecote and Hunstrete, son of Edward Popham, M.P., and of his wife, Rebecca Huddon. Married Dorothy, daughter of Mathew Hutton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Born 1734, died 1780.
- (16.) William Leyborne (by Romney), nephew of Francis Popham (No. 13), and brother of General Leyborne Popham. If the inscription, that he died in 1790 at the age of 17, is correct, he was General Leyborne-Popham's younger brother.
- (17.) Miss Leyborne (copy of a portrait by Romney), sister of No. 16.

There are also:—

A portrait of George, Lord Cobham; attributed to Holbein.

A portrait, by Clouet, of Gabrielle de Bourbon, daughter of Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, and wife of Louis II., Prince de la Tremoille.

A portrait labelled "Edward VI., after Holbein." In Archæologia, xxxix. 272, it is shown that "John Holbein, servant to the King's Majesty," died in 1543; hence it follows that Edward VI. could not have been painted by him after the age of 6.

This is probably a portrait of *Thomas Howard*, Earl of Surrey, by Guillim Stretes. Compare the picture at Hampton Court.

A portrait of *Nell Gwyn*, by Verelst. Verelst was a flower painter, but, though his portraits were inferior to his pictures of flowers, he became the fashion, and injured Lely. Walpole says that he was paid 110*l*. for a half-length.

Two portraits (William III., and Queen Mary), by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

A picture of St. Cecilia, by Dominichino.

A portrait of a man, with a green background, by Clouet.

CONSERVATORY.

The Conservatory, seen out of the drawing-room, was built (probably as an orangery) presumably about 1809.

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LIBRARY.

In the Library the chief objects of interest are some old law books, annotated in the handwriting of Chief Justice Popham.

THE DUTCH PARLOUR.

The Dutch Parlour is interesting on account of the paintings on the walls, which are said to have been done by a Dutch Officer and other prisoners, who were confined at Littlecote during the Commonwealth.

In Money's History of Newbury, we are told that "In the course of the Dutch war, in which the Admirals Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt were met by the Commonwealth leaders Blake, Deane, Monk, and Popham, a number of prisoners were taken and dispatched to various provincial towns. One hundred were sent to Newbury in April, 1653, and in the following November, John Birch, the Mayor, petitioned Parliament that the town might either be paid for the keep of the Dutchmen, or have them removed, as the inhabitants were sorely distressed by this extra burden being laid upon them."

It has been suggested that some of these prisoners were thereupon sent to Littlecote, and that the pic-

tures on the walls of this Dutch Parlour (representing scenes from *Don Quixote* and *Hudibras*) were painted by them.

This may be true of the scenes from *Don Quixote*, which was published between 1605 and 1615; but the first part of Butler's *Hudibras* was not published till 1663, and the last part in 1678, some years after the date of the Dutch prisoners mentioned above being sent to Newbury.

There is certainly a strong tradition that the pictures on these walls were painted by Dutch prisoners who were confined at Littlecote, so the probability is that they were prisoners taken in one of the naval battles in Charles II.'s reign, either off Harwich in 1665, or at the mouth of the Thames in 1666, or off the coast of Holland in 1673.

In the accounts of the Constable of Hungerford in 1667 is the following entry, "Pd. 13 prisoners which came out of Holland 3d."

It is quite possible that these may have been the Dutch prisoners who came to Littlecote.

BRICK HALL.

The Brick Hall has a rough tiled floor, excellent old panelling, and overmantel, and is hung with old armour (mostly German).

CHAPEL.

The Chapel, which is an interesting example of ecclesiastical arrangements during the seventeenth century, has its pulpit—as is the case in all Presbyterian places of worship—in the place of the altar. There are very few private chapels in England arranged in this manner.

August 4th, 1661. Philip, 4th Lord Wharton, married, at Littlecote, Anne, daughter of William Carr, and widow of Edward Popham (who had been buried in Westminster Abbey, 1651).

"Anno Domini 1685. John, Lord Sheffield, 3rd Earl of Mulgrave, Lord Chamberlayne of His Ma'ties houshold and Ursula Countess of Conway were married in Littlecott Chapell, March ye eighteenth."

Lord Mulgrave was created by William III., in 1694, Marquess of Normanby, and by Queen Anne, in 1703, Duke of Normanby, and, a fortnight afterwards, Duke of the County of Buckingham.

Ursula, daughter of Colonel Stawel, was the widow of the 1st Earl of Conway (the son of Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway, and of his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Popham, Kt. of Littlecote).

WILLIAM OF ORANGE'S ROOMS.

Over the mantelpiece in the bedroom, which was occupied by William during his stay at Littlecote, is a large piece of tapestry, displaying his arms; over the doors are his portrait, and that of Mary, engraved by Pieter van Gunst, after Brandon; and there hangs in the room a long sampler, with figures and raised roses in relief, in which is worked the following inscription:—
"The Prince of Orang landed in the west of England on the 5 of November 1688 and on the 11 of April 1689 was crowned King of England and in the year 1692 the French came to invade England and a fleet of ships sent by King William and drove them from the English seas and took sunk and burnt 21 of their ships. March the 26 1693, Martha Wright."

The wardrobe should be noted as having probably been made out of an old bed.

In the adjacent dressing-room is an old English four-poster, and a large piece of Flemish tapestry, after Teniers.

William of Orange, on his advance from Salisbury to London, retired, after a conference with James's Commissioners at the Bear Inn, at Hungerford, to Littlecote, December 8th, 1688, where the following day, Sunday, December 9th, the Commissioners dined.





As Macaulay tells us, a splendid assemblage had been invited to meet them. The old hall was crowded with peers and generals. Halifax, Burnet, Nottingham, Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Oxford were among those who sat round the old table, and feasted, intrigued, listened, or dallied with the crisis. In such a throng a short question and answer might be exchanged without attracting notice. Halifax seized this opportunity, the first which presented itself, of extracting all that Burnet knew or thought.

"What is it that you want?" said the dexterous diplomatist. "Do you wish to get the King into your power?"

"Not at all," said Burnet, "we would not do the least harm to his person."

"And if he went away?" said Halifax.

"There is nothing," said Burnet, apprehending his meaning, "so much to be wished."

James's Commissioners retired without having come to any settlement; and very soon the King fled.

On the 10th, William arrived at Newbury, and, on the following day, marched with the chief part of his Dutch troops and adherents, from Newbury towards Abingdon. The route taken was through the villages of Farnborough and West Ilsley, along the "Golden Mile" to Hendred, and thence to Milton House, where William slept, the troops being quartered in the neighbourhood.

Macaulay gives the following picturesque description of the appearance of the Dutch and other troops composing the martial pageant which accompanied William:—

"First rode Macclesfield at the head of two hundred gentlemen, mostly of English blood, glittering in helmets and cuirasses, and mounted on Flemish war-horses. Each was attended by a negro, brought from the sugar plantations on the coast of Guiana. Then, with drawn broadswords, came a squadron of Swedish horsemen in black armour and fur cloaks. They were regarded with a strange interest, for it was rumoured that they were natives of a land where the ocean was frozen, and where the night lasted through half the year, and that they had themselves slain the huge bears whose skins they wore. Next, surrounded by a goodly company of gentlemen and pages was borne aloft the Prince's banner. On its folds the crowd which covered the roofs and filled windows read with delight that memorable inscription, 'The Protestant Religion and the liberties of England.'

"But the acclamations redoubled when, attended by forty running footmen, the Prince himself appeared, armed on back and breast, wearing a white plume and mounted on a white charger. . . . Near to the Prince

was one who divided with him the gaze of the multitude, . . . the great Count Schomberg, the first soldier in Europe, since Turenne and Condé were gone. . . . Then came a long column of the whiskered infantry of Switzerland, distinguished in all the Continental wars of two centuries by pre-eminent valour and discipline, but never till that week seen on English ground. And then marched a succession of bands designated, as was the fashion of that age, after their leaders, Bentinck, Solmes, and Ginkell, Talmash, and Mackay. . . . Nor did the wonder of the population diminish when the artillery arrived, twenty-one huge pieces of brass cannon, which were with difficulty tugged along by sixteen cart-horses to each."

The following extracts, from the accounts of the Constables of Hungerford in the year 1688, afford interesting evidence of the disturbed condition of the neighbourhood at this time:—

Gave ye ringers when ye prince of Denmark			
came by to Bath	00	01	00
(This was the husband of the Princess			
Anne, daughter of James II., after-			
wards Queen of England.)			
Gave ffarmer Lovelook ye high Constable for			
Aminicion money	00	12	9

The House.	Gave ye ringers when ye princess of Denmark	
	came back from Bath	00 01 00
	Pd. to Robert Rabnett and Mick Butler	
	to guide ye souldiers to Ramsbury and	
	see when they were coming	00 03 00
	Pd. Stephen Hellier and Will Rosier the	
	train souldiers	02 00 00
	Pd. Edward Lucas he spent at ye Globe	
	with y ^e souldiers	00 01 00
	Pd. charge about souldiers	00 02 00
	Pd. John Stanton for journies about ye	
	souldiers	00 01 00
	Pd. Robert Rabnett for going to Newbery	
	about y souldiers	00 02 00
	Pd. him for going to Shefford	00 01 00
	Pd. him for bringing back horses	00 00 09
	Pd. Robt. Coxhead for going to Newbery,	
	Lambourn, and Faringdon to carry war-	
	rants and fetch more pressed horses .	00 03 00
	Pd. Anthony Trayhorne for fetching back	
	pressed horses and charges	00 05 10
	Pd. William Clyford for a guid	00 01 00
	Pd. him to goe to Newbery for a guid to	
	souldiers	00 02 6
	Pd. Robert Ely for fetching back a horse	
	beyond Reading	00 03 02
	Pd. John Barnett for fetching back 2 pressed	
	horses from Newbery	00 02 00

Pd. John Standen to go to Chilton in ye Vale			The House.
for a guid	00 (01 06	
Pd. a guid to Avinton	00 (00 06	
Pd. John Coxhead for bringing back			
pressed horses	00 (02 00	
Pd. Nich' Burche for fire for the guards.	01	05 00	
Pd. Thomas Robinson ffor 40 ffaggotts for			
y Watchmen when y report was y Irish			
·	00	05 00	
(A false report had been circulated			
that the disbanded Irish soldiers			
were approaching London, firing			
the houses, putting men, women,			
and children to the sword, and			
that no Protestant would find			
mercy. This was a scare, long			
remembered as the "Irish Night.")			
	00 (01 00	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		02 00	
Pd. a guid to Shefford	00 (00 08	
Spent with the souldiers		00 08	
Pd. Will. Coxhead for a guide to Hamstead			
and fetchin Armes from Littlecot and			
carring them	00 (02 00	
(The Prince of Orange went from			
Hungerford to see Lord Craven's			
new house at Hampstead, near			
Kintbury.)			

The House.	Pd. y° ringars when y° King was proclaimed	00 04 00
	Pd. John Garlick for candles for ye guids	
	when Douglas reg q'tered in Town for	
	1 dozen and a halfe at 4/4 per doz.	00 06 06
	Pd. Will. Rosier for 6 Bandaleers bought	
	at Newbery	00 02 00
	(These were little wooden cases to	
	contain a charge of powder, to be	
	hung on the shoulder belt, also	
	called a bandoleer.)	

ANTE-CHAPEL CHAMBER.

In the Ante-Chapel Chamber is a curious and excellent piece of needlework, representing a large Roman tessellated pavement, which—discovered in 1728 by Mr. George, the Littlecote steward—was unearthed two years later. The pavement measured 41 feet in length by 33 feet in breadth, and seems to have formed the floor of a temple. It was completely broken up soon after it was brought to light. The inscription on the needlework, made by the widow of Mr. George, tells us that the pavement was "supposed to be laid in the reign of Vespasian the Roman Emperor (there being several urns with his coins deposited in the wall)." It represented, among other

devices, Apollo in the centre, and female figures riding on animals emblematic of the four seasons.

The House.

"This curious piece of antiquity has been since destroyed, but Mr. George made an exact draught of it on several sheets of paper, in which all the parts and figures were expressed in their proper colours. From this drawing his widow afterwards made a beautiful carpet in needle-work, reduced to the size of near one inch to a foot of the original.

"Mrs. George setting up a boarding-school for young ladies after the death of her husband, employed some years in working this noble carpet, which she carried to Andover on removing from that place, and afterwards presented it to her benefactor, Mr. Popham, who got it engraved by Vertue."—Archæologia, 1787, Vol. VIII., page 98.

On the west wall of the Ante-Chapel Chamber is an interesting picture, painted in tempera, and described by Dr. Waagen, in his "Treasures of Art in Great Britain," in 1854, as belonging to the "School of Romagna," and proving "the influence of Crivelli in this part of the country."

"Nicola di Ancona.—The Virgin adoring the Child lying on her lap, while the Child is blessing the spectator. On the right St. Jerome pointing to the lion growling at the thorn in his paw, and another saint unknown to me [St. Leonard]; on the left St. John the Baptist and St. Francis. A feeling of pure

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devotion pervades the heads. The execution in the brownish flesh-tones is of admirable body. In the landscape and other portions the influence of Cosimo Tura, of Ferrara, is unmistakable. The upper portion has a gold ground. This hitherto almost unknown master has inscribed his work 'Opus Nicolai Mi Antonii de Ancona MCCCCLXXII.'

"Colucci informs us that this picture, together with a lunette by Crivelli, was presented by the town of S. Fermo, to the little village of Porto S. Georgio on the Adriatic."

Colucci, an antiquarian writer, lived at Fermo, in Romagna, about the middle and end of the 18th century.

There are also hung here a lunette in the school of Crivelli; a triptych by Bernard van Orley; a picture of Our Lord and the woman of Samaria, ascribed to Dosso Dossi; a Flemish picture of St. Veronica; a Madonna and Child, ascribed to Lorenzo di Credi (compare the picture in the National Gallery); and a picture (probably Spanish) of the head of Our Lord and an Angel.

Close by is a mirror with a needlework frame of the time of Charles II., illustrating subjects from the Old Testament.

all here show he comments

DARRELL CHAMBER.

This chamber, and the fire-place in the adjacent Ante-Chapel Chamber, are said to have been the scenes of a crime which tradition has associated with Littlecote and "Wild" Darrell. See "The Littlecote Legend," page 43.

Chief Justice Popham—who had good opportunities of knowing the truth of the story—put up the overmantle in this room, which displays the shield of arms of his daughter Elizabeth, and of her husband, Sir Richard Champernoun.

NEW CHAMBER.

In New Chamber there is a very fine old bedstead.

On leaving New Chamber a fine piece of fifteenth century Flemish tapestry should be noticed hanging on the staircase which leads up to Queen Elizabeth's Chamber. It was the custom for cartoons to be designed by well-known painters, which were copied in tapestry by the tapestry weavers, and several copies of the same subject were often made.

This piece of tapestry, which has been for a long time in England, is - with one or two trifling variations — similar to, and copied from the same cartoon as, the piece of tapestry, formerly in celebrated collection in Paris, which has been thus described by M. Eugène Müntz (Conservateur des Collections de l'École National des Beaux-arts); "Dans une troisième tenture, le Repos pendant la fuite en Egypte, il n'y a de place que pour l'éblouissement. Rien ne saurait rendre la splendeur de cette gamme, où l'or alterne avec la cramoisi, la richesse de ce paysage dans lequel l'auteur, un Flamand pur sang, a accumulé les notes les plus joyeuses, les motifs les plus pittoresques. Quel adorable tableau que celui de cette jeune mère serrant contre son cœur son fils, devant lequel son père nourricier s'incline avec une admiration touchante, en lui présentant une poire, tandis que dans les branches de l'arbre, au pied duquel repose la famille divine, les anges remplissent les airs de concerts célestes! Des détails aussi naïfs que touchants complètent cette scène, qui serait admirable de tout point, n'était la laideur de l'enfant Jésus: l'âne broute tranquillement à côté de l'arbre; des canards folâtrent dans la source qui prend naissance au milieu des iris et des mûriers sauvages; les plantes les plus brillantes surgissent de tous côtés comme par enchantement; à côté de fraisiers en fleurs, on en voit d'autres qui sont chargés de fruits, et dont la note

d'un rouge vif se marie à merveille aux tons verts dorés d'une végétation luxuriante. Le fond du tableau est traité avec autant d'amour et de poésie; des habitation riantes y alternent avec des rochers escarpés: ici, des champs de blé dans lesquels un moissoneur s'incline respectueusement devant les soldats envoyés à la poursuite des fugitifs; ailleurs, une rivière formant d'innombrables replis jusqu'à l'endroit où elle se perd dans les brumes de l'horizon."

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CHAMBER.

Queen Elizabeth's Chamber is so-called from her arms, which are over the mantelpiece, and are believed to have been put up in anticipation, or in commemoration, of her visit to Chief Justice Popham.

It may be interesting to note here the royal visitors who have been entertained at Littlecote:—

1520. August 18th. Henry VIII.

"The King again made progress into Berkshire in August, 1520, . . . and on Saturday the 18th, lodged at 'Mr. Darell's place,' at Littlecote." — Money's History of Newbury.

1601. August. Queen Elizabeth.

"Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton,

1601. On the 13th of August, the Queen came to Windsor, and is expected shortly at Mr. Comptroller's, at Causham. And so the Progress should hold as far as Littlecot, a house of the Lord Chief Justice, in Wiltshire. But there be so many endeavours to hinder it, that I will lay no great wagers of the proceeding."—Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

1603. September 5th and 6th. James I. and Anne of Denmark.

"From the 1st to the 4th of September the King and Queen were entertained at Tottenham Park, the mansion of the Earl of Hertford; and on the 5th and 6th they were the guests of Lord Chief Justice Popham, at Littlecote."—Nichols's *Progresses of James I*.

1613. September. Anne of Denmark.

"Queen Anne of Denmark was also at Newbury in 1613, while on a progress from Oatlands to Lord Hertford's, at Marlborough: on September 2nd halting at Burghfield, and the next day at Aldermaston House; on the 4th Her Majesty dined with Sir Nicholas Fuller, at Chamberhouse Castle, Cookham, in the parish of Thatcham. The same night she slept at Mr. Dolman's, at Shaw, where the Court remained over Sunday. On the Monday following the Queen dined at Mr. Choke's at Avington, and thence proceeded to Sir Francis Popham's, at Littlecote,

where she stayed two days, and then left for Marl- The House. borough."—Money's History of Newbury.

1663. August. Charles II. (and Katharine of Braganza?).

"The King and Queen are very well and much pleased with their journey. The King has taken very few servants along with him; not any officer, nor any table, but his own, the Queen's, and my lady Suffolk's. His Majesty has been very much feasted by Colonel Popham and my Lord Seymour."—Countess Dowager of Devonshire to Lord Bruce. September 1st, 1663. Ailesbury MSS.

1663. September 21st. The Duke of York (afterwards James II.)

"Pd. the ringers ffor ringinge when the Duke of Yorke passed through the Towne and lodged that night at Littlecott." — Hungerford Churchwardens' accounts, 1663.

1688. December 8th and 9th. William, Prince of Orange.

"William, on his advance from Salisbury to London, retired, after conference with James's Commissioners at Hungerford, to Littlecote, December 8th, where the following day, Sunday, December 9th, the Commissioners dined."—Macaulay's *History of England*. Vol. II., Chapter IX.

STAIRCASE.

The Staircase, leading up to the Dormitory, is made of solid blocks of oak, each forming a step; and the Dormitory, over the Long Gallery and over the room adjoining, is said to have been the quarters of the Littlecote garrison during the civil wars in the time of Charles I.

THE LONG GALLERY.

The Long Gallery, which is about 110 feet long, occupies a large part of the north side of the house on this floor. The panelling runs all round the gallery, and the plaster frieze above it is especially interesting, for it dates from pre-Popham times, and displays the Darrell lion, rampant armed langued and crowned. A close examination of the frieze reveals the letters W D, one on each side of the small lions in low relief; in one or two places distinct, but in others almost, or wholly, obliterated. Presumably they have been scraped off, and were the initials of William, or "Wild," Darrell. The ceiling is new, and takes the place of a ceiling that was probably put up in the early part of the nineteenth century.

There is extant an inventory made in 1735, at the death of Francis Popham, of the contents of the house. It is headed as follows:—

"A true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattles and Credits of Francis Popham late of Littlecote in the county of Wilts Esqr Deceased which were at the time of his death at Littlecote aforesaid as they were taken Valued and Appraized on the Eighth Day of October in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and thirty five by Lawrence Andrews and Thomas Baron as follows (to wit)."

In this inventory what is now known as the Long Gallery was called "The Long Matted Gallery," and contained,

"Item thirty Pictures Forty two chairs with Workt Backs and Seats and Covers—To Ditto One India Chest, a Walnuttree Cabinet Two old Tables Two Carpetts Three Couches and Squabbs and Pillows a Settee and Two Chusions Covered with Silver Silk. A pair of Doggs and Fender and the Floor Matting."

All these items were valued at 44l. 14s. 6d.

There are here many portraits of the Popham, and Leyborne-Popham, families, and it may be noted

that, of the many members of these families who have owned Littlecote, from the time of the Chief Justice to the present day, only a few are not represented by their portraits in this house.

There are in the Long Gallery portraits of-

- (1.) Chief Justice Popham. Born 1531. Died 1607.
- (2.) Lady Popham. Wife of the Chief Justice; daughter of Robert Games, of Castleton, Co. Glamorgan.
- (3.) Anne Dudley (after A. Hilliard). Born 24 February, 1574/5, daughter and heiress of John Dudley, of Stoke Newington, who was the son of Thomas Dudley, who was the son of Edward, Lord Dudley, by his second wife. Anne Dudley married Sir Francis Popham, Kt., of Littlecote (who was one of the Knights made before Cadiz by the Earl of Essex in 1596; M.P. for Great Bedwyn in 1620, and for Chippenham in 1635, and died 1646), the son and heir of Chief Justice Popham; and the portraits of three of their sons, Alexander, Edward, and Hugh, are in this gallery.

One of their daughters, Frances, married, about October, 1621, Edward, 2nd Baron (and afterwards 2nd Viscount) Conway. She died June, 1671, aged 74, having survived her husband 16 years.

Aubrey says of John (the eldest son of Sir Francis

Popham, Kt.), who died in his father's lifetime, 1637, and married Mary, daughter of Sir Sebastian Harvey, Lord Mayor of London in 1618:—

The House.

"He was the greatest howse-keeper in England: would have at Littlecote 4 or 5 or more lords at a time. His wife (Harvey) was worth to him, I thinke, 60000 li., and she was as vaine as he, and she sayed that she had brought such an estate, and she scorned but she would live as high as he did; and in her husband's absence would have all the woemen of the countrey thither, and feast them, and make them drunke, as she would be herself. They both dyed by excesse; but by luxury and cosonage by their servants, when he dyed, there was, I thinke, a hundred thousand pound debt.

"Old Sir Francis, he lived like a hog at Hownstret in Somerset, all this while with a moderate pittance.

"Mr. John would say that his wive's estate was ill gott, and that was the reason they prospered no better: she would say that the old judge gott the estate unjustly, and thus they would twitt one another, and that with matter of truth."

(4.) Portraits of—

(A.) Colonel Alexander Popham, second son and heir of Sir Francis Popham, Kt.

This is the same Colonel Alexander Popham, of Littlecote, whose equestrian portrait (No. 4A) is in the Great Hall. He was M.P. for Minehead, Bath, and Somersetshire successively; a Commissioner for Martial Law in 1644; one of the Council of State in 1650, a member of Cromwell's Upper House; in the Council of State in 1659-60; and, in the former year, one of the Army Committee.

At the Restoration he not only made his peace, but was much in favour, with Charles II., who visited him at Littlecote in 1663.

His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of Richard Cole, of Nailsea Court, Esq., whom he married at Nailsea, Co. Somerset, 29 October, 1635. She died 2 April, 1643, and was buried at the Mayor's Chapel, St. Mark's, Bristol. She had one son, who was buried 1642.

His second wife, Letitia Carr, sister of Anne (the wife of his brother Edward), was buried at Stoke Newington, 27 April, 1660.

He died in 1669, and was buried at Chilton Foliat. In his will he gives loving admonition to his children, and adds, "copies of my will to be sent to them, and they are to read it over once a month."

He was succeeded by his son, Francis Popham, who was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II., and died 28 August, 1674.

There is an interesting entry in the accounts of the

Constable of Hungerford in the year 1673, referring to this Sir Francis Popham: "Pd. to Joseph Mackerill for carriage of Sr. ffrancis Popham foole to Littlecot—2s.;" a late instance of a professional "fool," or jester, being attached to a private household.

- (B.) Letitia, his second wife, daughter of William Carr, of Linton and Sunlaws (Groom of the Bedchamber to James I. and Charles I.), and of their three daughters,
- (c.) Essex, who married, as his first wife, John, 3rd Lord Poulett, of Hinton St. George, and was, by him, mother of two daughters, Catherine, who married William, Lord Lempster; and Letitia, who married Sir William Monson, Bart., of Broxbourne, Co. Hertford.
- (D.) Letitia, who married (as his second wife) Sir Edward Seymour, 4th Bart., of Berry Pomeroy, and was, by him, mother of Popham Seymour (see No. 5). This Sir Edward Seymour was "the head of a strong Parliamentary connection called the Western Alliance, the leader of the Protestant Tories in the House of Commons," and, according to Macaulay, "one of the most skilful debaters and men of business in the Kingdom." He was unanimously elected Speaker in 1673, and had the credit of being the first country gentleman who was ever called to the chair, till then invariably occupied by a lawyer.

At the Revolution he went to meet the Prince of Orange at Exeter, and William, intending to be

very civil, received him with the words, "I think, Sir Edward, that you are of the family of the Duke of Somerset." Seymour, one of the proudest of men, instantly corrected him. "Pardon me, Sir," he said, "the Duke of Somerset is of my family."

This pride of place as the head of the house never for sook him. When Queen Anne, of whose household he was the Comptroller, offered him a peerage in 1703, he would accept it only for his younger son, Francis (created Lord Conway, ancestor of the Marquess of Hertford), preferring for the elder son the slender chance—then apparently remote—of succeeding to his ancestral dukedom. Yet within fifty years this improbable event had come to pass, and the title devolved upon his grandson, the 6th Sir Edward Seymour, Bart., of Berry Pomeroy, who thus became 8th Duke of Somerset, and whose mother was Letitia, only daughter of Sir Francis Popham, K.B., of Littlecote. (See 8a. in the drawing-room, page 79.) Edward Seymour, 4th Bart., was the great-greatgreat-great-great-grandson of Sir George Darrell, of Littlecote.

- (E.) Anne, who married William Ashe, of Heytsbury, Wilts: and was, by him, mother of Letitia, who married Thomas Penruddocke, of Compton.
 - (4B.) Colonel Alexander Popham, by Cooper.
- (4c.) Portrait of a lady. Possibly the first wife, Dorothy Cole, of Colonel Alexander Popham.

- (5.) Mr. Popham Seymour, known as "Beau" Seymour, son of Sir Edward Seymour, 4th Bart., of Berry Pomeroy, and of his second wife, Letitia Popham, daughter of Colonel Alexander Popham. He succeeded to the Conway estates, under the will of his cousin Edward, Earl of Conway, and assumed, in consequence, the name of Conway. He died unmarried, in his twenty-fourth year, from a wound received in a duel with Colonel Kirk, in 1699.
- (6.) Hugh Popham (by Beall), fourth son of Sir Francis Popham, Kt., killed at Sherborne, during the Civil Wars.

Mrs. Mary Beale was an artist who copied successfully the works of Van Dyck and Lely, and is supposed to have studied for a time under Robert Walker. She painted many of the clergy of her day (1632-1697), and her charges were 5*l*. for a head, and 10*l*. for a half-length. Her husband was also a painter, but of no celebrity.

(7.) Portraits of—

(A.) Edward Popham, fifth son of Sir Francis Popham, Kt., Admiral of the Fleet and Colonel in the Parliamentary Army during the Civil War. Born about 1610, he was serving as lieutenant of the Henrietta Maria, in the fleet of the Earl of North-umberland, in 1636, and in March, 1637, was promoted to be a captain of the Fifth Whelp.

The Whelps were by this time old and barely seaworthy, and in a fresh breeze off the coast of Holland, 28 June, 1637, this one having sprung a leak, went down, giving Popham with the ship's company, barely time to save themselves in the boat. Seventeen men went down with her.

In the Civil War Edward Popham threw in his lot with the Parliament, of which his father and his brother Alexander were members.

In 1642, Edward and his brother Hugh were with Alexander, then a deputy-lieutenant of Somerset, raising men for the Parliament.

In June, 1644, both he and Alexander were with Ludlow and some others detached by Waller into Somersetshire, in order to raise recruits.

On 11 June, 1645, Edward Popham was desired to repair to Romsey, take command of the troops assembling there for the relief of Taunton, and follow the orders of Colonel Massey; and on 17 June, Alexander was directed to command a party of horses to Romsey, there to receive orders from Edward.

It would seem that at this time Edward was considered the superior officer.

24 October, 1648-9, an Act of Parliament appointed Popham, Blake, and Deane, commissioners for the immediate ordering of the Fleet.

1649, Popham commanded in the Downs, and the North Sea.

Early in 1650 he was under orders to join Blake, at Lisbon, with a strong reinforcement.

An intercepted Royalist letter, of date 20 February, says, "Blake has gone to sea with fourteen sail. . . . A second fleet is preparing under Ned Popham. His brother, Alexander, undertakes to raise one regiment of horse, one of dragoons, and two of foot in the west; but good conditions might persuade them both to do righteous things."

In a letter, dated 27 April, 1650, from Westminster, by John Milton (Latin Secretary for some time to Parliament and to Cromwell) to John, King of Portugal, Edward Popham is mentioned as having been sent out in command of a fleet to the mouth of the Tagus, the object of which was not to act in any hostile way to the Portuguese, but to attack pirates, and to recover property taken by them.

The passage is as follows:—

"Quo facilius a Majestate Vestra impetraturos nos esse confidimus, primum ut Illustrissimo Viro Odoardo Poppamo, quem huic novæ classi præfecimus, quibus potes rebus ad prædatores hosce debellandos, adjumento esse velis, utque eos cum duce suo, non hospites, sed piratas, non mercatores, sed commercii pestes, jurisque gentium violatores, intra regni vestri portus, & munimenta diutius consistere

ne signas; sed qua patent Lusitaniæ fines, terra marique pelli jubeas:"

Which was thus translated in an English edition, printed in 1694, of the "Letters of State, written by Mr. John Milton, To most of the Sovereign Princes and Republicks of Europe."

"Which is the reason we are in hopes that we shall more easily obtain from your Majesty; First, That you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most Illustrious Edward Popham, whom we have made Admiral of our New Fleet, for the subduing those detested Freebooters; and that you will no longer suffer 'em together with their Captain, not Guests, but Pyrates; not Merchants, but the Pests of Commerce, and Violaters of the Law of Nations, to Harbour in the Ports and under the shelter of the Fortresses of your Kingdom; but that where-ever the Confines of Portugal extend themselves, you will Command 'em to be Expell'd as well by Land as by Sea."

He died of fever at Dover, 19 August, 1651, and had a public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

1651. August 22. Council of State.

"Lord Commissioner Whitelock, and Sir Harry

Vane to go to Mrs. Popham from council and condole with her on the loss of her husband, and to let her know what a memory they have of his services, and that they will upon all occasions be ready to shew respect to his relations."

"Sept: 24 1651. In the evening the funeral of General Popham was performed at the Abbey, with very great solemnity. His herse was attended from Exeter House in the Strand by the Speaker [Lenthal], the Lord General [Cromwell], and many members of Parliament and Council as it became a person of so much honour and integrity."

1651. October 9. Order of Parliament.

"That one year's salary for the year payable to General Popham deceased be paid to Anne Popham his widow."

The monument to Edward Popham and to his wife in Westminster Abbey was, at the Restoration, ordered to be destroyed; and Dart relates that, at the intercession of some of this lady's relations, who had been serviceable to the Royal Cause, no further dishonour was shown to his memory than by turning inwards the face of the stone which displayed the inscription. Dart's story is, however, a myth; for—

though the monument was allowed to remain—the inscription was defaced.

(B.) Anne Carr (see No. 8), his wife, and sister to his brother's wife, Letitia.

Also portraits of their two children.

- (c.) Letitia, who married Sir John Bauden. She was baptized in 1646 at Newington, married in 1669, and died 1703 or 1706.
- (D.) Alexander, of Bourton-on-the-Hill, in Gloucestershire, who married Brilliana Harley, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Harley, of Brampton Brian, Governor of Dunkirk in 1660, and eldest son and heir of Sir Robert Harley, K.B., by Brilliana Conway his wife (who was so christened because her father, the first Lord Conway, was Governor of the Brill in the Netherlands at the time of her birth). Alexander Popham was the father of Anne Popham, who married her second cousin, Francis Popham of Littlecote (see No. 10).
- (8.) Anne (by Sir Peter Lely), daughter of William Carr.

She married—

1st, Edward Popham (see No. 7), who died 1651, and 2ndly—as his third wife—4 August, 1661, at Little-cote, Philip, 4th Lord Wharton, by whom she had a son, William, who was killed in a duel, Dec. 1699.

Her brother, William, married Anne, the elder daughter of this Philip, 4th Lord Wharton, by his second wife.

Philip, 4th Lord Wharton, born 8 April, 1613, was a pronounced Puritan, and took an active part for the Parliament in the Civil Wars. He was one of those sent to treat with the Scots at Ripon in 1640, and was one of the "commanders" in the armies of the Commonwealth, and was at the battle of Edgehill. He was Speaker of the House of Lords 27 May, 1642, and again 26 Feb., 1645, it being voted in Parliament 1 Dec., 1645, "that Lord Wharton be made an Earl." He was one of the Lay Members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, by whom in 1648 "The Shorter Catechism" was drawn up; and was summoned to Cromwell's House of Lords 10 Dec., 1657, and 27 Jan., 1658, to Richard Cromwell's Parliament. Restoration he was one of the cavalcade to escort the King on his landing. He was imprisoned in the Tower 16 Feb. to 29 July, 1677, for declaring the Long Parliament dissolved by its fifteen months' prorogation. He was one of the first to declare for William III. When young he is said (Memoirs of the Marquis of Wharton) to have "had particularly fine legs, and took great delight to show them in dancing," but Puritanism was his prevailing charac-On July 12, 1692, he conveyed lands in Yorkshire to trustees "for buying English bibles

and catechisms for poor children and for preaching sermons;" the administration of which charity gave rise to a Chancery suit in 1896. His portrait, by Van Dyck, is in the Hermitage. Anne, his third wife, died "a few miles out of town" on the 13th Aug., 1692, at Wooburn. He died at Hampstead, and was buried 12 Feb., 1695/6, at Wooburn, in his 83rd year.

(9.) Lady Anne Montagu (by Kneller, 1689), daughter of Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu.

She married—

1st, Alexander Popham, of Littlecote (see No. 9a, on the Front Staircase), who died 16 June, 1705, son and heir of Sir Francis Popham, K.B., and was, by him, mother of a daughter, Elizabeth.

2nd, in 1707, Lieut.-General D. Harvey, who was Governor of Guernsey in 1715.

(10.) Alexander Popham, M.P., of Littlecote and Houndstrete, who succeeded in 1705, his nephew, Alexander Popham (only son of Sir Francis Popham, K.B., see No. 9). He married Jane French, and was succeeded by his son, Francis Popham, who married (see No. 7) his kinswoman, Anne, daughter of Alexander Popham, of Bourton-on-the-Hill. Francis Popham died in 1735, aged 52, and was buried at Chilton Foliat. It was at his death that the inventory mentioned above was taken.

- (11.) Edward Popham, M.P. (by Gainsborough), son of Francis and Anne Popham (see No. 10). Married Rebecca Huddon, died 1772, and was succeeded by his son, Francis Popham, the last of the Pophams of Littlecote, whose portrait is No. 13 in the drawing-room.
- (12.) Mrs. Huddon, mother of Rebecca Huddon, who married Edward Popham, M.P. (see No. 11).
- Portrait labelled "Anne Popham, afterwards Mrs. Leyborne Popham, Gainsborough." If this isas it is believed to be—the portrait of Anne Popham, the daughter of Edward Popham, M.P. (No. 11), and the wife of William Leyborne Leyborne, then it is incorrectly labelled "afterwards Mrs. Leyborne Popham"; for her husband—though he changed his name in 1751 from Taylor to Leyborne — died in 1775, while he was Governor of Granada, under the name of Leyborne; and it has never been even suggested that his widow changed her name back again to Popham in her old age; moreover, her son, Edward William Leyborne, who was born in 1764, did not assume the name of Popham till 1804, when he succeeded to the Popham estates.

In Fulcher's *Life of Gainsborough*, two threequarter-length Popham portraits—mentioned as having been painted, apparently at the same time, by that artist, under the heading, "Miscellaneous Portraits by

Gainsborough "—are called—" Popham, Esq.," and "Mrs. Popham."

There is, therefore, a strong probability that—presuming these two pictures, Nos. 11 and 14, to be the two pictures mentioned by Fulcher, and presuming No. 11 to be correctly named as the portrait of Edward Popham, M.P., who died in 1772—this portrait (No. 14) was painted before 1772.

But Fulcher says that Gainsborough painted "Mrs. Popham"; not "Miss Popham," or "Mrs. Leyborne," or "Mrs. Leyborne Popham"; and if he is correct, and if this is the picture to which he refers, then it is just possible that it may be the portrait either of Rebecca Huddon, the wife of Edward Popham, M.P., or of Dorothy Hutton, the wife of Francis Popham.

What is certain is that it cannot be the portrait of any one who was "afterwards Mrs. Leyborne Popham."

The probability is that the description painted on the picture and Fulcher's description are both incorrect, and that the picture really is the portrait of the daughter of Edward Popham, M.P., Anne Popham, who afterwards became Mrs. Leyborne.

The omission to write the names of the sitters on their portraits, at the time of their being painted, is a very old source of confusion.

Evelyn wrote to Pepys (12 Aug., 1689), "Our painters take no care to transmit to posterity the names of the persons they represent"; and Locke,

writing to Collins, says, "Pray get Sir Godfrey to write on the back of my lady Masham's picture 'Lady Masham,' and on the back of mine 'John Locke.' This he did to Mr. Molyneux; it is necessary to be done, or else the pictures of private persons are lost in two or three generations."

(15.) William Leyborne Leyborne, son of the Rev. Edward Taylor, Lord of the Manor of Mortlake, and of his wife Anne, daughter of Anthony Leyborne.

He assumed, by Act of Parliament in 1751, the surname and arms of Leyborne only. He married Anne (see No. 14), daughter of Edward Popham, M.P. (see No. 11), was Governor of Granada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and died at St. Vincent, April, 1775, where he was buried.

(18.) Edward William Leyborne Popham, son of William Leyborne Leyborne (see No. 15), and of his wife Anne Popham (see No. 14).

Born 27 June, 1764, he succeeded (as Colonel Leyborne, and while quartered at Athlone in Ireland) under the will of Dorothy Popham, his mother's sister-in-law, in September, 1804, to the Popham estates; his mother's eldest brother, Francis Popham, of Littlecote and Huntstrete (see No. 13), having died in 1780, whose widow, Dorothy, died in 1797.

He assumed, by Royal License dated 22 Dec., 1804, the surname and arms of Popham in addition, and married, at St. Sidwell's, Exeter, 22 July, 1806,

Elizabeth, daughter of the Ven. Archdeacon Andrew, Rector of Powderham, Devon, by Isabella his wife, daughter of Sir William Courtenay, and sister of the first Viscount Courtenay.

He was High Sheriff in 1830, and made a General in 1837.

He died in 1843, his wife having predeceased him in 1836.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward William Leyborne Popham (born 1807, died s. p. 1881), who was succeeded by his nephew, Francis William Leyborne Popham, the second son of Francis Leyborne Popham, and the present owner of Littlecote.

There are also portraits of--

Miss Letitia Popham. This may possibly be either Letitia, the daughter of Colonel Alexander Popham, who married Sir Edward Seymour, 4th Bart., of Berry Pomeroy; or her first cousin Letitia, the daughter of Admiral Edward Popham, who married, in 1669, Sir John Bawden.

Mrs. Popham, by Sir Peter Lely. Lely came to England in 1641, on the death of Van Dyck, and remained here till his death in 1680.

Is this "Mrs. Popham?"—

- (a) Dorothy Cole, who died in 1643, the first wife of Colonel Alexander Popham; or
 - (b) Letitia Carr, the second wife of Colonel Alex-

ander Popham (probably not. Compare her portrait in No. 4); or

The House.

- (c) Anne Carr, wife of Admiral Edward Popham (compare her portrait in No. 7). Can it be
- (d) Mary, the daughter of Sir Sebastian Harvey, who married John, the elder brother of Alexander and Edward Popham (see No. 3)?

Supposing that she was 18 years old on her marriage in 1618, she would have been 41 years old when Lely landed in England.

It is just possible, by one year—for Lely died in 1680—but hardly probable, that it may be (e) Brilliana Harley, who married in 1679 Alexander Popham, of Bourton-on-the-Hill (see No. 7), but she could not have been more than 24 years old on her marriage.

The Spanish Lady, aged 15, 1623, who—as the story goes—at a raid on some Spanish town by the English, was given into the custody of one of the Pophams. The order came to set the ladies free and unransomed: she was loth to leave, and would have followed Popham back to England. She offers him her jewels and gold if only he will take her to England. At last he blurts out, in the words of the old ballad—

"I in England have already
A sweet woman to my wife:
I will not falsify my vow for gain,
Nor for all the fairest dames that live in Spain."

H 2

The House. To which she replies:-

"Oh how happy is that woman
That enjoys so trve a friend:
Many happy days God send her:
Of my suit I make an end:
On my knees I pardon crave for my offence,
Which from love and true affection did commence."

Portrait labelled Sir George Harrington.

No "George Harrington" appears to have been either a Baronet or a Knight. However, "George Harrington, 3rd son of Sir John Harrington, Kt., and of Mary, daughter of Sir George Rogers, of Cannington, Somerset, married Mary Combes," and died in 1665; and Katharine Popham, who died 1637, sister of Sir Francis Popham, Kt., married Edward Rogers, of Cannington, Somerset; and Sir Francis Popham, K.B., who died in 1674, married Helena, daughter of Hugh Rogers, of Cannington, Somerset. Also, John Harrington was chosen to represent the City of Bath in Parliament in 1658, in the place of Colonel Alexander Popham, when the latter relinquished that seat, and sat for the county instead.

These facts might account for the presence at Littlecote of a portrait of a "Harrington," but not for a "George Harrington" being knighted.

Many Harringtons were knighted in the 16th The House. and 17th centuries, but apparently no George Harrington.

Probably this is another example of the not unusual result of the posthumous labelling of pictures.

Portrait of a Lady. Lely.

Portrait of a Lady. Temp. James I.

Portrait of a Gentleman. Temp. Elizabeth.

Compare a portrait, by Cornelius Ketel, in the National Portrait Gallery, of Edward Fiennes de Clinton, 1st Earl of Lincoln, K.G.

William Brook, Lord Cobham. Attributed to Sir Antonio More.

George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham. Born Favourite of James I. and Charles I. Mur-**1592.** dered by Felton, 1628.

Portrait of a Lady. After Lely.

There are also miniatures of Queen Elizabeth as a child, by Sir Antonio More; of Jane Seymour, by Holbein; of Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and of William III. and Mary.

There is also in the Long Gallery a big Italian Renaissance seat, or throne, which the Florentines of the 15th century called "residenza," brought not long ago from the Villa S. Donato, near Florence, and originally belonging to Giuliano de' Medici.

M. Paul Leroi, in the course of a long description of this piece of furniture, written in L'Art for the brokenter per el Now at Combon

year 1880 (which contains a drawing of it) says, "L'authenticité de ce trône ne fait point question. Il devint après la mort de Julien, arrivée en 1516, la propriété, a titre de legs, de la famille d'un des principaux seigneurs attachés à sa personne, le comte Nuti, et n'est jamais sorti de cette famille jusqu'au mois de janvier 1872, époque à laquelle la comtesse Lucrezia Nuti se décida à s'en séparer."

The cushion is covered with very old Genoese brocade, and has been on the seat probably for ages.

And we may note a bronze bust of Sir Isaac Newton, from Hinton St. George; a marble bust of Oliver Cromwell; an old clock by "Wm. Mason, London," (William Mason became a freeman of the Company of Clockmakers, 2 April, 1688); and a Greek, or Etruscan, helmet.

The ceiling in the Long Gallery was put up in 1899, to take the place of one that probably dated from the early part of the 19th century.

The idea of the design was taken from the bit of old ceiling in the bay window opposite to the fireplace.

When the new ceiling was put up a piece of paper was discovered on a beam behind the cornice, evidently a relic of a time previous to that of the cornice then removed.

The paper is much worn by time, but the writing

on it is fairly clear, and has been deciphered to be as The House. follows:—

"The 11th of Aprell, 1650.	li.	s.	d.					
Itt[em] 15 dussing of quarts bott[les] at								
4s. 6d. a dussing	03	07	06					
Itt. 05 dussing of pints glas bott at 3s. 6d.								
a dussing	00	15	00					
Itt. pad the 3 porttears for bringing of								
them from the glas hous at Rattlef .	00	03	00					
Itt. pad the 3 porttear for carin of them								
into the Strand	00	03	00					
Itt. pad the porttear [ther] for speaking of								
them	00	00	06					
Itt. 2 great hampears	00	04	06					
~ .								
Som. is	04	13	06"					

For what purpose these bottles were bought is not obvious; but possibly they were for the bottling of half a butt of wine.

Colonel Alexander Popham was the owner of Littlecote in the year in which this account is dated.

THE TAPESTRY ROOM.

This little room, leading out of the Long Gallery, was hung with tapestry in 1899, and the ceiling was put up at the same time.

STAIRCASE.

And so we leave the Long Gallery, passing on the right Juba's room, a little room so called after a black servant of Edward Popham, M.P. (Juba was baptized 2 January, 1762, at Chilton); Alcove Chamber; the present nurseries, which contain one of the plaster overmantels put up by Chief Justice Popham; and Popham Chamber; and looking at a portrait (No. 19) of Mrs. Leyborne Popham, the wife of General Leyborne Popham (No. 18), and at a farmyard scene by George Morland; we find our way to the front staircase, where there hang—

Portraits of George III. and Queen Charlotte, painted about 1767 by Allan Ramsay, sergeant-painter to the King; compare the two similar portraits now in the National Portrait Gallery in London.

Portraits of "Wild Dayrell," the horse that won the Derby in 1855, his trainer Rickaby, and his jockey Sherwood. "Wild Dayrell" was owned by Mr. Francis Leyborne Popham, was trained in the park, started favourite at "evens," and won by two lengths.

(9A.) Portraits, by Kneller, of Alexander Popham, his wife, Lady Anne Popham, and their daughter Elizabeth.

Lady Anne Montagu, daughter of Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu, married—

1st, Alexander Popham of Littlecote, who died 1705, son and heir of Sir Francis Popham, K.B.

2nd, in 1707, Lieut.-General Harvey, who became Governor of Guernsey in 1715.

Elizabeth Popham married—

1st, 12 April, 1707, Edward Richard, Viscount Hinchinbroke (eldest son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Sandwich), who was, by her, father of John, 4th Earl of Sandwich, and died 3rd October, 1722.

2nd, 30 July, 1728, at St. Giles in the Fields, her first cousin, Francis Seymour, younger brother of Sir Edward Seymour, 6th Bart., of Berry Pomeroy.

These two brothers, Edward (who, in 1750, became 8th Duke of Somerset) and Francis, were the sons of Sir Edward Seymour, 5th Bart., of Berry Pomeroy

(who died 1741), and of his wife (see No. 8A in the drawing-room) Letitia (who died 1738), only daughter of Sir Francis Popham, K.B.

Francis Seymour, died 23 Dec., 1761, his wife having predeceased him 20 March of the same year in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, and having been buried in South Audley Street Chapel.

Portrait of William Shippen, M.P., brother of Ann Shippen, who married Anthony Leyborne, and was, by him, mother of Ann Leyborne, who married Edward Taylor, and was, by him, mother of William Taylor. William Taylor assumed the name of Leyborne, and married Anne Popham, and was, by her, father of Edward William Leyborne, who assumed the name of Popham, and was the grandfather of Francis William Leyborne Popham, the present owner of Littlecote.

William Shippen, M.P., was an English Jacobite, son of the Rector of Stockport; an opponent of Walpole; and characterised by Pope as "Downright Shippen." Born about 1672, he was educated at Stockport school, M.P. for Bramber, 1707; and committed to the Tower, 1717. Walpole said of him, "I would not say who was corrupted, but who, I would say, was not corruptible — that man is Shippen."

Shippen returned the compliment by saying, "Robin and I are honest men."

On a vote to remove Walpole, in 1741, he did not vote, but withdrew from the House with his followers.

The House.

PORCH ROOM.

This room contains two large pieces of old Flemish tapestry, which came from Kirby House, Inkpen. One represents Neptune and Amphitrite with attendant nymphs and mermen; the other a man, in the costume of the time of Louis XIII., riding a white charger, with an instructor standing at the side. The latter is initialled in the corner T. P.

DINING ROOM.

The Dining Room was, in 1896, panelled with old oak that had long been lying in a loft over the stables, and the ceiling was put in at the same time.

There is here a portrait of a man in a dark robe, painted for the Ricci Gallery in Florence, by Andrea del Sarto, which Dr. Waagen describes as being "Of masterly execution."

Las Melhinen Walney for so tables to Corre

THE SMOKING ROOM.

The Smoking Room is finely panelled, and contains—

(7c.) Portrait of Admiral Edward Popham.

(7D.) Portrait of Anne Carr, wife of Admiral Edward Popham.

(18a.) Portrait of General E. W. Leyborne Popham, by Downman.

Portrait, apparently also by Downman, and a companion picture to the portrait of General E. W. Leyborne Popham. Probably this is the portrait of the Rev. Edward Popham, D.D., who was born in 1728, and died in 1815, and was for 26 years rector of Chilton Foliat. He was brother to Francis Popham and to Anne Popham, who married William Leyborne.

Over the mantelpiece is the date 1592 (the year in which Sir John Popham became Lord Chief Justice), and below the date is the Chief Justice's shield of arms.

The Servants' Offices are typical of the house. In the servants' hall there hangs over the fireplace a framed copy of the rules to be observed in the hall. This copy was printed about the year 1860, from a much older copy, and is as follows:—

"RULES

To Be Observed

IN THE SERVANTS' HALL

AT

LITTLECOTE.

THE Coachman is head of the Hall; he is required to see that the Servants are *punctual* at their Meals:

BREAKFAST	•	•	•	from $8\frac{1}{2}$	to 9
DINNER			•	from 1	to 2
TEA .	•	•	•	from 5	to $5\frac{1}{2}$
SUPPER	•			at 9	

And the Hall to be cleared by $10\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock every night.

No Waste allowed, nor any Food to be taken out of the Hall.

All quarrelling, or bad language, to be reported to the Butler by the Coachman.

By Order of Mr. POPHAM."

The Cellars are worth seeing for the arching of the ceiling.

In an inventory made in 1735, on the death of Francis Popham, the contents of the cellars were as follows:—

In the Small Beer Vault

£ s. d.

Item Five Hogsheads of Small Beer

2 10 0

In the Strong Beer Ditto

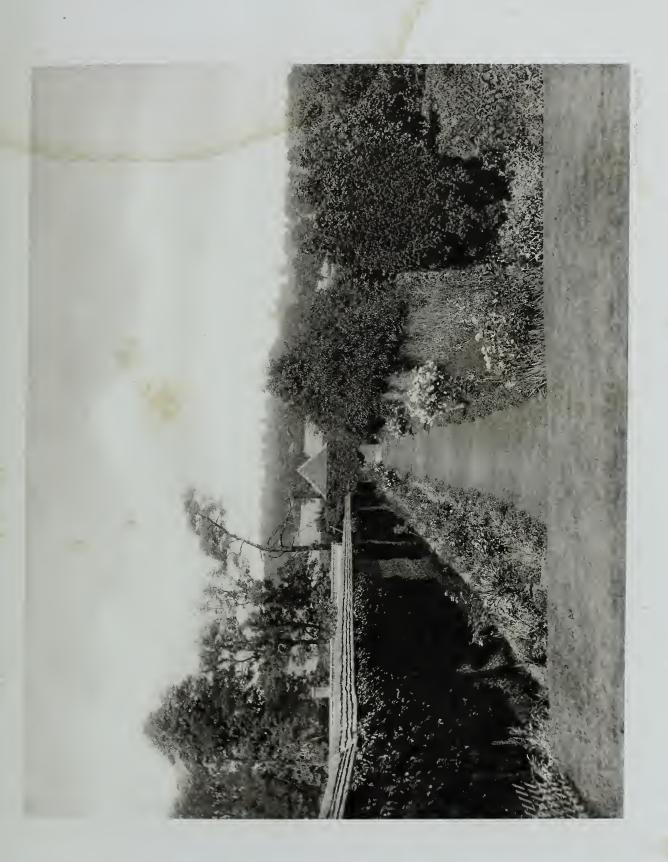
Item Wooden Horses for Barrells all round the vaults Eight Hogsheads of good strong Beer Two Ditto Damaged One and Thirty Ironbound Hogsheads One and Thirty Wooden Ditto with some Iron Hoops Six Brass Corks Four Beer Filters a Funnell and Four Tap Tubbs . . .

43 0 0

In the Wine Vault

Item One Hogshead of White Port about one third out One ditto of Red one third out Three Dozen and Eight Bottles of Champain Two Dozen and Six Bottles of Burgundy Two Dozen and Eleven Bottles of Hermitage Two Dozen and Six Bottles of Old Hock Three Bottles of French Clarett One Dozen and Three Bottles of Damaged Claret and Two Bottles of Arrack

39 4 0





The Garden

THE GARDEN.

But—as Bacon has taught us—without a garden "buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works"; so, let us wander through the iron gates leading on to the North Terrace, and to the garden, wherein are trees that have, in all probability, been tended by Wild Darrell's gardener, "Cornelius the Dutchman."

The Mount, which is of a simple construction, often found in Tudor Gardens, is near two patriarchal tulip-trees, and the rose garden, on the west side of the house.

At the bottom of the garden is a long herbaceous border, and parallel to it runs a branch of the Kennet, containing trout, some of which are of the same breed as those which appeared on Wild Darrell's table, and, at a later date, were sent annually, by General Leyborne Popham, to the Waterloo banquet.

On the wall that is near are two apricot-trees, believed to have been planted about 1524, when the tree was first introduced into England by Wolf, gardener to Henry VIII.

The Park.

THE PARK.

NEXT to the garden lies the park, of which Leland wrote nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, "There is a faire and large parke hangynge apon the Clyffe of a highe Hille well woddyd over Kenet," and his description will guide us to it now.

About 300 yards to the west of the house are signs of excavations, which are believed to mark the site of the house which existed before the present Littlecote; and a little farther to the west is the site of the Roman pavement, mentioned on page 90.

It was about the year 1652 that the ancestors of the present deer were brought into the park; as we learn from a letter of Lord Conway—a kinsman of the Pophams—who, writing in that year, says, "Your brother told me that he was bringing the deer that were at Wellington to Littlecote, wherein I trust he does well, as he will then have the benefit of them."

But there are inhabitants of the park of even greater local antiquity than the deer; for the Romans—who constructed in the park the magnificent pavement (which has now perished)—are said to have brought with them (what is still here) the edible snail, *Helix Pomatia*, more than a thousand years before a Darrell came to Littlecote.

APPENDICES.



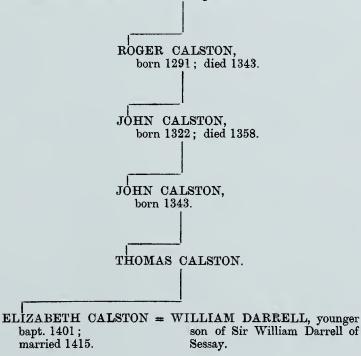
CALSTON OF LITTLECOTE.

ARMS OF THE CALSTON FAMILY:-

Argent a bar gules, in chief two lions rampant of the last.

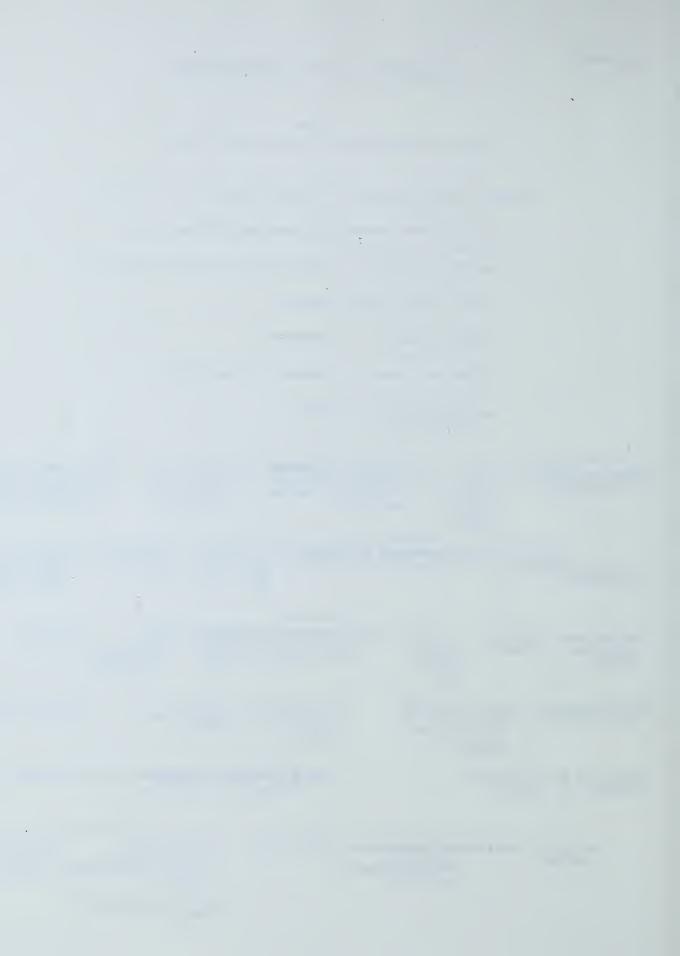
And another coat: Azure three mullets or within a bordure argent.

ROGER DE CALSTON, died 20 Edward I. (1293), seized of lands at Calstone, Quemerford, Lyttlecote, Chilhampton, Little Durnford, Ebbesborne Wake, and Enham Knights.







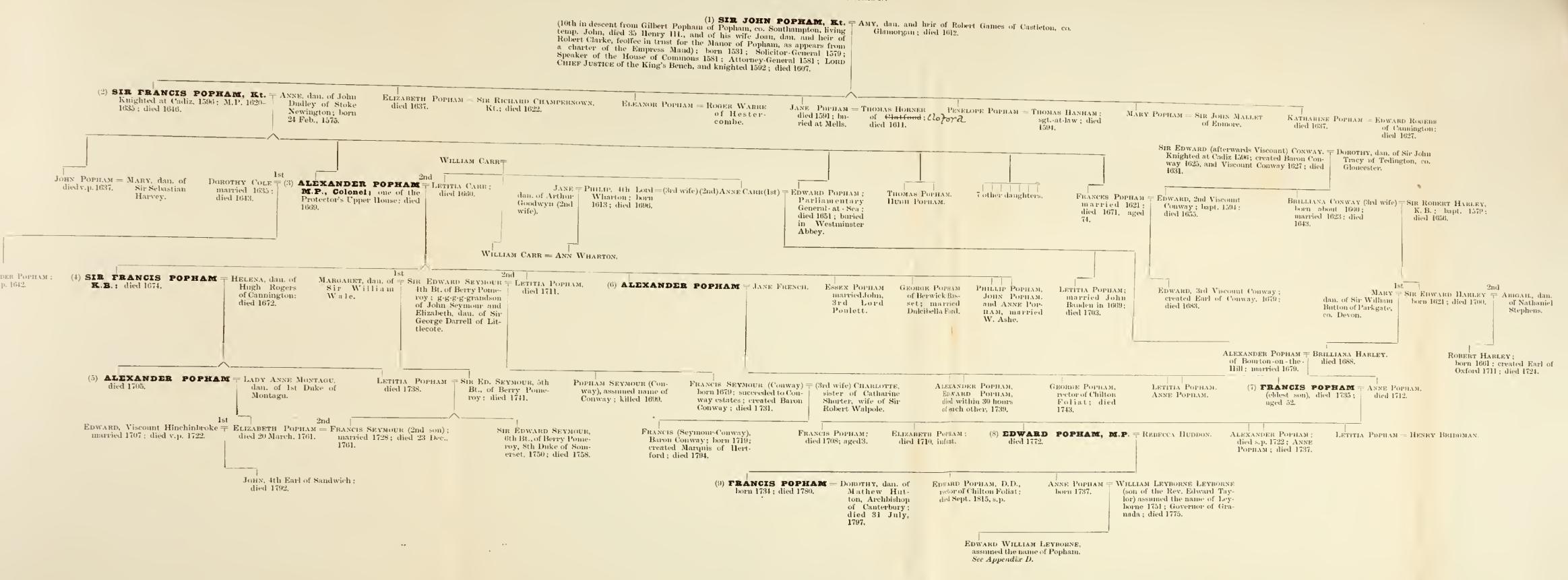






ARMS.

Argent on a chief gules two bucks' heads cabossed or.







LEYBORNE-POPHAM OF LITTLECOTE.

ARMS.

Patent granted 1st March, 1805.

Quarterly: 1 and 4 argent on a chief gules two bucks' heads cabossed or, for Popham; 2 and 3 azure six lioncels 3, 2, 1, argent on a chief embattled or a mural crowned gules, for Leyborne

> THE REV. EDWARD TAYLOR = ANNE LEYBORNE, day, of Lord of the Manor of Anthony Leyborne, and Mortlake, of his wife Anne Shippen.

WILLIAM LEYBORNE TAYLOR = ANNE POPHAM, dau. of Assumed the surname and Edward Popham, M.P. arms of Leyborne only by for Wilts; born 1737. Act of Parliament, 1751. Governor of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago; died 1775.

- (1) EDWARD WILLIAM LEYBORNE = ELIZABETH, dau. of the born 1764. Assumed the surname and Ven. Archdeacon Andrew, arms of Popham in addition by Royal Rector of Powderham. License 22 Dec., 1804; married 22 July,
- (2) EDWARD WILLIAM LEYBORNE-POPHAM FRANCIS LEYBORNE-POPHAM = ELIZABETH, dan. of born 1807; died s.p. 1881. born 1809; married 1857; James Block; died died 1880. 1865.

1806; General 1837; died 1843.

FRANCIS HUGH ARTHUR Francis Alexander Compton = Ethel, dan. of 2 daughters. LEYBORNE-POPHAM; born J. Kent Rye,

1865; married 1890; died 1899.

2 other sons, and

4 daughters.

of Brighton.

FRANCIS HUGH LEYBORNE-POPHAM. born 19 Jan., 1861; died 21 June, 1861.

(3) FRANCIS WILLIAM = MAUD ISABEL, LEYBORNE-POPHAM, born 1862; married 1890.

dau, of Henry Howard, of Greystoke.

LEYBORNE - POPHAM, born 1864.

> HUGH ALEXANDER LEYBORNE-POPHAM, born 1890.







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